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by

Marten Stol

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te Istanbul
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XL

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PREFACE

This book investigates some aspects of the political and social history of the Old Babylonian Period, notably the second half of this period (roughly 1850-1600 B.C.).

Chronology is the main theme of Chapters I-IV. As year names are central for the reconstruction of the chronology of the Old Babylonian Period, I have tried to establish the correct sequence of a number of those year names. The information they convey on the political history is also dealt with.

Chapter V investigates the geographical and political concept "Emutbalum", which is of great importance for the correct interpretation of the rise and conquests of Hammurabi.

The last three chapters of the book center on some problems in the social and economic history of this period. The meaning of the title *rabiānum* ("burgomaster") and its use by kings, sheikhs and aldermen is the subject matter of Chapters VI and VII. Chapter VII, describing the role of the burgomaster in harvest labor contracts, entailed a new interpretation of those contracts (Chapter VIII).

It is a pleasant duty to thank all those who have assisted me in various ways.

In the first place, I am indebted to my teacher, Professor Kraus, who supervised my work from its very beginning. I wish to thank him for his penetrating criticisms and his helpful suggestions.

I am grateful to Professors K. R. Veenhof and W. H. Ph. Römer, who read the manuscript and made a number of corrections and additions. I discussed some problems with Dr. G. van Driel, to whom I owe certain suggestions, now incorporated in the first chapter.

I am much in debt with the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago : its Director, Dr. J. A. Brinkman, generously gave me the permission to publish here the Date List A. 7534 and to use Old Babylonian texts in the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute.

A. L. Oppenheim, M. Sigrist, K. R. Veenhof, C. B. F. Walker and R. M. Whiting Jr kindly allowed me to use some unpublished texts.

How could I thank Dr. Jack M. Sasson (Chapel Hill) for correcting the English of my manuscript? His task must have been a laborious one, especially since my style is so terse.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank Mrs. Carol van Driel, Mrs. Rivkah Harris, Dr. C. Nijland, Dr. David I. Owen and Mr. Th. J. H. Krispijn for their help.

I am happy that the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten is willing to publish this book.

Leiden, June 1976 M. STOL

I. A DATE LIST CONTAINING YEAR NAMES OF WARAD-SIN AND RĪM-SIN

1. *The Date List*

The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago possesses two Old Babylonian tablets with lists of year names. One date list of the year names of Samsu-ditana, king of Babylon, was published by Feigin and Landsberger in *JNES* 14, 1955, 137 ff.; the other list, A. 7534, covering all the years of Warad-Sin and 22 years of Rīm-Sin, both kings of Larsa, will be published here.

Dr. I. J. Gelb drew my attention to this second list. I thank him and Dr. J. A. Brinkman for their kind permission to publish this text together with the photographs.

The provenance of the text is unknown to me.

It is difficult to establish the date and the provenance of the text by means of palaeography. The writing seems to me to be typical for many "Larsa" texts. This type of writing is not restricted to the time of Rīm-Sin I (as in *YOS* 8), but is also attested in "Larsa" during the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna (as in *TCL* 11; cp. my footnote 20). Photographs of the tablet and copies of a number of individual signs are published here on Plates I-III and pages 4 f., respectively.

Our date list resembles in some respects the lists published by Gadd in *UET* 1 265 and 266. According to Gadd, *UET* 1, 1928, p. 70, "Nos. 265 and 266 are fragments of tablets which originally contained the whole or parts of the list of date formulae for the Larsa dynasty, similar to the prism in the Louvre, published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* XV p. 52 ff.". What remains of the second list, *UET* 1 266, covers the year names from Sin-erībam 1 to Rīm-Sin 22 (with large gaps), see Edzard, *ZZB* 17 [9.] and the transliteration by Ungnad in *RLA* 2 153-4 (L_2). The subscript of this text shows that the tablet was written at the time of Samsu-iluna.

One may safely assume that date lists such as these (and our A. 7534) continued to be written after the downfall of the Larsa Dynasty and that they served practical purposes in the offices of the Great Organizations, as well as elsewhere.

The text published here covers the year names Warad-Sin 1—Rīm-Sin 22. There is no room on the tablet for the full formula of Rīm-Sin 23; the scribe may have continued his date list on another tablet.

So the terminus post quem for the date of our text is Rīm-Sin 22.

On the following pages, I will give a transliteration of the text of the new date list and comment on the individual year names. The year names of Warad-Sin will be studied with care; not much will be said about those of Rīm-Sin, since they are well-known.

I consulted with much profit F. Thureau-Dangin, "La chronologie de la Dynastie de Larsa" (*RA* 15, 1918, 1 ff.); E. M. Grice, *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty* (= *YOSR* IV), 1919; A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten" (*RLA* 2, 1938, 149 ff.); F. R. Kraus, *Nippur und Isin nach altbabylonischen Rechtsurkunden*, chapters 1-3 (= *JCS* 3, 1951, 4-45); L. Matouš, "Zur Chronologie der Geschichte von Larsa bis zum Einfall der Elamiter" (*ArOr* 20, 1952, 288 ff.); D. O. Edzard, *ZZB*, 1957, passim.

In sofar as I can agree with these authors, I will not repeat their discussions and conclusions.

The study of the year names of Warad-Sin forces me to review the year names of Sin-iqīšam, to discuss the role of Sabium during these years, and to study some synchronisms.

The new information given by the new text A. 7534 is of some consequence for the history of the reign of Warad-Sin. However, since it does not radically alter the description presented in Edzard's *ZZB*, 1957, 172-176, I do not feel obligated to rewrite the history of those years.

A. 7534

Obverse

(1) [m]u ìr-^{d}EN.ZU lugal [×]
(2) mu *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} ba.g[ul]
(3) mu *1* alam.guškin [i]r-^{d}EN.ZU é.^{d}utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re
(4) mu ugnim (KI.SU.LU.ÚB.GAR) mà.al.gi$_4$.a giš.t[uk]ul ba.an.sìg
(5) mu kisal.maḫ.^{d}utu ba.dù
(6) mu gá.<nun>.maḫ ^{d}nanna.ra ù é.kalam.ta.ní.gùr.ru
é.^{d}[inan]na-ZA.UNU^{ki} ba.dù
(7) mu 3 giš.gu.za bár.m[aḫ].guškin.šu.du$_7$.a é.^{d}nanna
^{d}nin.ga[l] ù é.^{d}utu.š[è] i.ni.in.ku$_4$! (text SAR).re
(8) mu en.^{d}nanna ba.ḫun.gá
(9) mu é.^{d}nanna ba.dù ù 2 [g]iš.gu.za bár.maḫ.guškin šu.du$_7$.a
é.bár! (text like ṢI).šè i.ni.in.k[u$_4$].re
(10) mu 1 alam.*ku-du-úr-m*[*a*]-*b*[*u-ṭ*]*k*.guškin [š]u.du$_7$.a
é.[^{d}ut]u.š[è] i.ni.i[n.k] u$_4$.r[e]

(11) mu bàd.gal ŠEŠ.[U]NU$^{k[i]}$.[m]a ba.d[ù]
(12) mu uru SAG.PA.KA[B].X.DU.GA ki.bé.éš in.[g]i$_4$.a
(13) mu é.^{d}nin.x(.x) šà.maš.gán-PA.A[L^{ki} ba.d]ù
13 mu ìr-^{d}EN.ZU [(× ×)]

(1) mu ^{d}*ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU l[ugal (×)]
(2) mu é.^{d}iškur šà.UD.UNU^{ki} ù é.^{d}bár.ul. ẹ.[gar.r] ạ
šà. *zar-[b]í-lum*^{ki} mu.un.dù ù 1 [uru]du.alam ìr-^{d}[EN.Z]U lugal
é.gal.bar.ra.šè i.ni.ị[n].ku$_4$! (text SAR).re
(3) [m]u 4 urudu.alam. *ku-du-úr-ma-bu-uk* ẹ.^{d}nanna.šè in.na.ku$_4$!
(text SAR).<<AŠ>>. re
ụ̀ é.^{d}NIN.MAR.KI šà.aš.dub.ba^{ki} m[u.u]n.dù.a
(4) [m]u é.^{d}inanna é.^{d}nanna ù é.^{d}en.ki šà.U[D.U]NU^{ki} b[a].dù
(5) [m]u 2 urudu.alam.*ku-du-úr-ma-bu-uk* ù ị urudu.na.rú.a
é.gal.bar.ra.šè i.ni.ị[n].ku$_4$.re
(6) [mu] é.^{d}bár! (text UM or AB).ul.gar (*sic*) šà. UD.NUN^{ki} mu.u[n.d]ù.a

Lower Edge

[ù] ị alam.guškin.^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* lugal UD.UNU^{ki}
mu.na! (text TA).an.dím
(7) [mu ká.]gal.a 2.bi! (text GUD) šà.maš.gán-PA.AL^{ki} ba.dù
[ù] ẹ a.šà.GUB 4 KASKAL+BU.bi in.si.ị[g](?)

Reverse

(8) mu ẹ.^{d}[e]n.ki šà.Š[E]Š.[U]NU^{ki} ba.dù ù é.^{d}nin. ẹ.NIM.ma
š[à].é.^{d}NIN.MAR.KI mu.un.dù.a
(9) mu íd ŠI[R.B]UR.LA!^{ki} zà.a.ab.ba.šè mu.un.b[a. ạ]l
(10) [m]ụ b[àd] ^{d}utu-gar.ra ba.dù
(11) [šu]d$_x$.dè ^{d}*ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU é.^{d}utu in!.n[i].ku$_4$! (text SAR).re
(12) [š] ạ.I[M]^{ki} ba.ḫun.gá
(13) [*ị]š-k[ụ]-[u]n*-^{d}GÌR.UNU.<GAL>^{ki} ba.dù
(14) m[u KI.SU.LU.Ú]B.GAR UNU^{ki}.ga ì.si.in^{ki} din.tir^{ki}
[*su-ti-um*^{ki} *ra-p*] *í-[q]um*^{ki} <<ki>> ù ìr-x.y giš.tukul ba.an.sìg
(15) [ ] ù uru.ki *na-za-ru-um*^{ki} (*sic*) ba.an.dib
(16) [ ] íd.ḫé.gál.la ba.ba.al
(17) [ ]-^{d}BIL.GI^{ki} ù uru *zi-ib*!-(text ZU)-*na-tum*
(18) [^{d}en.l]íl.mu.na.an.sum.ma.ta in.dib.ba
[^{d}EN.ZU].na^{ki} ù *ú-ṣar-pa-*<*ra*>^{ki} giš.tukul.kalag.ga
[ ].sum.ma.ta in.dib.ba
(19) [íl]d.dingir.re.e.ne zà.a.ab.ba.šè! (text GIŠ)
mu.un.ba.al

(20) [^{k}]^{i} ba.an.dib ù giš.tukul.kalag.ga.^{d}en.líl.mu.na.
su[m.m]a.[t]a

[bà]d^{ki} mu.un.na.ḫul

(21) m[u giš.tukul.kala]g.g[a].^{d}en.líl mu.na.[a]n.sum.ma.ta
Ṷ[NU^{k}]^{i}.g[a] b[a].[ḫ]ul (or: Ṷ[NU^{k}]^{i} m[u].n[a.ḫ]ul) erén á.daḫ.bi
šu.né sá dug$_4$.ga
u[gu na]m.[lú.u]lu$_x$.bi šu.gar mu.un.gar.ra

(22) m[u] dug$_4$.ga.[z]i.da.^{d}en.líl.^{d}en.ki.ga.ta
[í]d ul.lí.a.[t]a m[ú].bi nu.sa$_4$ (erasure).a
si[pa]d ^{d}*r*[*i*]-*im*-^{d}E[N].ZU.e mu.un.ba.al.lá!
íd.sikil.l[a] m[u.b]i bí.in.sa$_4$.a
uru.didli.bé.[é]š bí.in.daḫ.a

After the last dividing line, there is room for one more line on the reverse, which is uninscribed.

Upper Edge and Left Edge uninscribed.

KISAL WS 5

GÁN RS 7

GÁ WS 6

MÀ WS 4

GÁ WS 8

É WS 7 (in *é ^{d}nanna*)

É WS 3

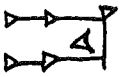
É WS 9

É RS 2

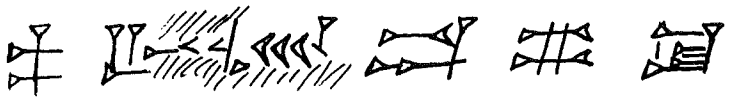
É RS 3

UNU WS 11

UNU RS 8

UNU  RS 2

PA KA[B] X DU GA KI WS 12

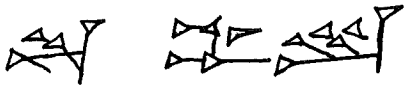


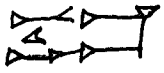
«KI» RS 14

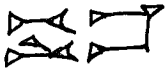
sá RS 21

sign after ^{d}NIN WS 13

last sign RS 7

 ÌR.X.Y RS 14

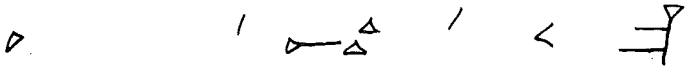
 BIL RS 17

 NE RS 19

L[A$^{!}$] RS 22

LA$^{!}$ RS 9

LA RS 16



traces in line 52 (RS 21), before ERÉN

This date list's main contributions to our knowledge are as follows:

1. It reveals the correct order of Warad-Sin's year names;
2. It presents Warad-Sin as reigning thirteen years, not twelve. This has some consequences for the chronology of the Larsa Dynasty and its synchronisms with the kings of Isin and Babylon;
3. It confirms Ungnad's reconstruction of the order of the year names of Rīm-Sin by ascertaining the heretofore hypothetical position of year name Rīm-Sin 5.

Date lists can be wrong and are not always reliable, let alone "canonical"; cf. Walters, *RA* 67, 1973, 28. Our text contains a number of minor mistakes and occasionally omits a sign. These lapses are never serious in nature. The writing is sometimes inconsistent (as in the sign BÁR); see the copies of some other individual signs on p. 4-5.

Looking at the year names of Rīm-Sin on this tablet, we observe that the text is generally trustworthy. The year names are listed in the proper order and the text does not show serious omissions or alterations in the date formulae. We may infer that the same obtains for the thirteen year names of Warad-Sin in this text. Two date formulae of Warad-Sin are new to us (3, 4). I will try to show that they are, indeed, attested on dated texts.

Ever since Clay published the school text *YOS* 1 32 in 1915, its figure "12" as the number of years for the reign of Warad-Sin has been accepted; it was our only source. This king list gives Rīm-Sin 61 years. As many scholars have suspected and, I think, Edzard, *ZZB* 22-24, has proved, this cannot be correct: Rīm-Sin reigned only 60 years. The discrepancies in both sets of figures, 13 rather than 12, and 60 rather than 61, do not affect the total of 73 years for both kings. It is possible that the scribe, after having written "60" (DIŠ) before Rīm-Sin's name, realized that he missed one year on the total and that he added an extra DIŠ ("one") to make up for the difference.

2. *The year names of Warad-Sin*

1 No comments.

2 "Year: Kazallu was destroyed"; for more complete formulas, see Edzard, *ZZB* 170 (on top).

3 "Year: he brought one golden statue of Warad-Sin into the temple of Šamaš".

The sign after mu is the figure "one" (DIŠ). At my request, Dr. R. M. Whiting Jr. was kind enough to collate this sign; he wrote: "The 1 is written over another sign, partially erased, consisting of a Winkelhaken and at least one vertical. The written-over vertical has been partially filled in by some of the clay which was

pushed over when the first large vertical was written, so it cannot have been written after the large wedge was. This shows rather well on the photo".

This is the first time we meet with this date formula. As will be shown below, the date list *UET* 1 266:15 has, for the third year of Warad-Sin, a formula which is an abbreviation of our year name.

More kings of Larsa presented Šamaš, the main god of their capital, with dedicatory gifts during the early years of their reigns: Gungunum 2, Sumu-el 2, Nūr-Adad *a*, Sin-iddinam 2 (Goetze, *JCS* 4 pp. 85, 101), Sin-iqīšam 3.

The phrasing of this year name resembles that of Rīm-Sin 11 (see below).

This year name was known to us only in its abbreviated form and could not be identified before:

mu alam.guškin é.^{d}utu.šè (var. ra) i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re

The following considerations confirm that this is a form of the name of Warad-Sin's third year.

1. Date list *UET* 1 266:15 gives as third year name [mu alam.(guškin) (é).^{d}]utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re.
2. This form is amply attested in the a.ru.a texts, which are dated between Warad-Sin 2-8, as will be shown below, p. 12f., on *YOS* 5 71. Almost all of the texts cited by Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 19 Formel *a*, end, belong to these a.ru.a texts; the exceptions are *YOS* 5 13 and 148.
3. *YOS* 5 13 bears this year name. Since the herdsman (*utullum*) Ipqu-Adad, who occurs in *YOS* 5 13:24, is mentioned in texts dated to Ṣilli-Adad (*YOS* 5 9:31, 10:29, 11:33, 55:6, 57:6), Warad-Sin 1 (15 IV:31), Warad-Sin 2 (4 X:7, 16 IV:18, 30:42), it is reasonable to assume that the date formula on *YOS* 5 13 stands for Warad-Sin 3.
4. *UET* 5 162 has the year name mu alam.guškin! é!.^{d}u[tu]! in.ku$_4$.r[e]. The first witness in this text, Šu-Ilabrat, is again first witness in *UET* 5 328:18, a text which is to be dated to Sin-iqīšam's reign (see below p. 11). The year name is not Sin-iqīšam 3 (see below p. 25).

YOS 5 148 and *UET* 5 174 have this year name, but I cannot date these texts otherwise.

Below, p. 17, I will show that this formula can also be an abbreviation of Warad-Sin 10 (or: Rīm-Sin 11?).

4 "Year: the troops of Malgium were smitten by the weapons".

Up till now, we did not know that this formula could be that of a year name of Warad-Sin. Two kings of the Larsa Dynasty commemorate in their year names

a victory over the troops of Malgium : Gungunum in year name 19 (as preserved in the date list *UET* 1 265 I:12-16), and, as we now know, Warad-Sin in year name 4 of our text.

This means that whenever this year name occurs, internal evidence alone will allow assigning the year name to the proper king. Ungnad, *RLA* 2 159 [189], listed some texts with this formula. Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 20-21, pointed out that one of those texts, *YOS* 5 17, must be much later than Gungunum's reign; it belongs to a group dated to Sin-iqīšam, Ṣilli-Adad, and the early years of Warad-Sin (cf. Butz, *WZKM* 65/66, 1973-4, p. 3 fn. 11). Thus, this text is to be dated WS 4.

Again, it is remarkable that *UET* 5 733, dated to month XIII of the year name under discussion, belongs to a group of four tablets, singled out by Figulla, *Iraq* 15, 1953, 89-91, all dated to Ṣilli-Adad and Rīm-Sin. Here, WS 4 is much more likely than Gungunum 19 [1].

This year name has been omitted by the scribe of the date list *UET* 1 266 (after line 15).

This new year name of Warad-Sin provides us with an important piece of information on the political history of his reign : during his third year Warad-Sin defeated the troops of Malgium. We know next to nothing of the history of Malgium, a city state to the East, perhaps on the Tigris (Jacobsen, *AfO* 12, 1937-39, 363 fn. 1; Landsberger, *OLZ* 34, 1931, 134 on *UET* 1 123:19); see Edzard, *ZZB* 159-160 (a).

From *UET* 1 123:19-21 (= Warad-Sin inscr. 11 = Sollberger-Kupper, *IRSA* 199 IV B 13h) we learn that Kudur-Mabuk "restored Maškan-šāpir and Kār-Šamaš to Larsa". In the preceding lines 14-18 Kudur-Mabuk recalls the overthrow of the foes of Ebabbar. The title "father of the Amorites" for Kudur-Mabuk in this inscription (line 6) suggests a date early in the reign of Warad-Sin (Hallo, *AOS* 43 109 f.). With Edzard, *ZZB* 169, we may assume that avenging Ebabbar might have been the reason behind the military actions described in year name 2 and in some royal inscriptions : the destruction of Kazallu and the defeat of Mutiabal's troops in Larsa; see already Gadd, *UET* 1, 1928, p. 31.

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[1] *UET* 5 307, alone, seems to have the year name mu ugnim mà.al.<gi.a> (month XIII!). Read mu ugnim UNU$^{!ki!}$.ga$^{!}$ (= Rīm-Sin 14). The creditor in this text, Iddin-Ea, occurs in numerous texts dated to Rīm-Sin 14 (*UET* 5 305, 306), 15 (375), 17 (376), etc. Similarly, the year name of *UET* 5 397 (see Edzard, *ZZB* 143 fn. 754) must be Rīm-Sin 14 in view of other dated texts of the creditor Ibni-Ea, where he occurs together with Iddin-Ea (389:3, 376:3).

One may surmise that the reconquest of Maškan-šāpir and Kār-Šamaš, both on the Tigris [2], took place shortly after the events commemorated in year name 2.

The school text Ni. 2760:1-20 informs us that Kudur-Mabuk took as a prisoner Ṣilli-Ištar, "the man of Maškan-šāpir" (Edzard, *AfO* 20, 1963, 159 ff.; cf. van Dijk, *JCS* 19, 1965, 7:125). As Edzard, p. 161, suggests, this event may fit the historical context of Warad-Sin inscr. 11:19-21, described above.

Our year name 4 may reflect a later phase in Warad-Sin's expansion to the North-East. Note that Maškan-šāpir and Malgium are closely associated in the geographical treatise *KAV* 92:24 (*AfO* 16 4): EN MAŠ.GÁN-PA.AL^{ki} KUR *Ma-al-gi-i*^{ki} "up to Maškan-šāpir, the land of Malgium". In the prologue of the Hammurabi Code Malgium is preceded by Maškan-šāpir (obv. IV:3, 12). In an Old Babylonian geographical list, Maškan-šāpir follows Malgium (*MSL* 11 60 Appendix 3 col. ii 64-65; ref. Prof. Veenhof).

5 The full formula of this year name can be reconstructed with the help of *UET* 5 224 and *YOS* 5 85, 131:

mu kisal.maḫ é.^{d}utu šà.UD.UNU^{ki} ba.dù ù giš.gu.za bára.maḫ. guškin.šu.du$_7$.a é.^{d}inana-zabalam^{ki} i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re

Edzard, *ZZB* 171 (c), reads giš.gu.za.bára.zà.[bé.ús] (= *nēmedum*); this reading is supported by the copy in *UET* 5 224:23 and finds a parallel in a year name of Nūr-Adad (Walters, *RA* 67, 1973, 24), but *YOS* 5 131:33 offers clearly maḫ; cf. giš.gu.za.bára.maḫ in WS year name 7.

UET 5 385 has the name of the king in this year name: [mu ìr]-^{d}EN.ZU lugal [kisal.ma]ḫ! é.^{d}utu ba.dù.

In the short formula (as on our date list) é is mostly omitted; note, however, *YOS* 5 93, 165, 166.

The shortest formula is mu kisal.maḫ ba.dù, *UET* 5 207.

The second half of the year name is summarized in *BIN* 7 163 as mu giš.gu.za bára.maḫ é.^{d}inana-zabalam^{ki}.

6 More texts omit nun, as our date list does: mu gá.maḫ ^{d}nanna!.šè x ba.dù, *UET* 5 371; mu gá.maḫ ^{d}nanna ba.dù, *ibid.* 797. The scribes may have had in mind the kisal.maḫ of the previous year name.

Some texts insert é between gá.nun.maḫ and ^{d}nanna (*UET* 5 359; Meek, *AJSL* 33, 1916, 231 RFH 18).

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[2] For Kār-Šamaš on the Tigris, see Hallo, *JCS* 18 68 [21], and Goetze, *AS* 16 215 fn. 12. For Maškan-šāpir, see Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 169-171.

UET 5 300 has an extra ba.dù at the end of the first part of the year name and offers a variant reading of the temple name: mu gá.nun.maḫ ^{d}nanna.šè ba.dù ù é.níg.gùr.ru.kalam.ma ḳ.^{d}inana-zabalam^{ki} ba.dù.

The shortest formula is mu gá.nun.maḫ ba.d[ù], *UET* 5 723.

For a possible historical background of the first event recorded in this year name, the (re)building of the Ganun-maḫ of Nanna, see M. Lambert, *RlA* 3 144*b*, under B.

7 Miss Grice, *Chronology of the Larsa Dynasty*, 1919, p. 23 fn. 56, suspected that this formula is only the second half of the year name; the first half being (mu) 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè. Ungnad, *RLA* 2 160*a* [193], accepted this, but Edzard, *ZZB* 171, pointed out that there are two distinct formulae. One records the presentation of three thrones to three gods (our year name); the other declares that three thrones were presented to Šamaš alone (Edzard, year name *d*); only this year name is preceded by (mu) 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè.

Does Edzard, year name *d*, really belong to Warad-Sin's year names? The name of this king is never mentioned in the pertinent texts. Interestingly, in **YOS 5 167**:4-5, a Ṣilli-Adad and a Kudur-Mabuk occur in a *naptanum*-text, after the é.SAL (harem?); the *naptanum* may be the royal meal as in *UET* 5 447 (dated to Būr-Sin of Isin)[3]. Are these individuals the well-known Ṣilli-Adad (once king of Larsa) and Kudur-Mabuk? Even then, the text could be dated to Warad-Sin's reign, because Ṣilli-Adad was only "removed from the kingship", an event which may not have cost him his head. It is equally possible that the text is to be dated before the reign of Ṣilli-Adad[4].

A closer study of the year name of YOS 5 167 reveals that the formula is quite different from Edzard year name *d*:

mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki} ù 3 giš.gu.za bára. maḫ alam.^{d}utu x x x x x i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re.eš.

It is tempting to read the barely identifiable signs x x x x x as ^{d}šè.nir.da.ke$_4$; this would take us to a year name of Sin-iqīšam, Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 19, year

[3] In *YOS* 8 texts, the sequence *ekallam kabtam rabiam* (see below p. 77) is sometimes replaced by *ekallam kabtam* é.SAL (44:10, 45:8). A text belonging to an archive dated to the reign of Sin-iddinam, *YOS* 5 214, is an expenditure of thirteen rams, dam.lugal.meš šà urí^{ki}.ma "for the king's wives in Ur" (Goetze, *JCS* 4, 1950, 92). In *TIM* 5 68:9 (= van Dijk, *HSAO* 240-1), a receipt for the princess is recorded, gìr PN rá.gab é.SAL "via PN, the intendant of the 'harem'".
More refs. in von Soden, *AHw* 134*b*, (28.); also *VAS* 13 49:4 (and probably more texts).

[4] Another text from the archive referred to in the preceding footnote, *YOS* 5 216, dated Sin-iddinam 7, mentions "Kudur-mabuk" in line 4.

name 3, Formel *c*. Actually, this Formel *c* seems to have the figure "14" on the copy, *PBS* 5 77 (= *PBS* 8/1 24): mu ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am* lugal.e [1]4 alam EN.LÍL^{ki} [x ala]m.^{d}utu.^{d}šè.nir.da.guškin.šu.du$_{7}$.a é.^{d}utu.ra$^{!}$ i.ni.in.ku$_{4}$.ra.

The year name of **YOS 5 61** is very much akin to that of *YOS* 5 167:

[mu 1]4 alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè [3 giš.g]u.za b[ára.m]aḫ [alam ^{d}utu] ^{d}š[è.ni]r.da [....] x x x [é ^{d}utu.šè] i.ni.ku$_{4}$.re

I cannot read the traces in line 13; š[u.d]u$_{8}$.a$^{!}$ is impossible, while š[u.d]u$_{7}$$^{!}$.a$^{!}$ displays too much phantasy.

We will now try to determine the chronological position of the texts which are dated to Edzard year name *d*.

YOS 5 63

Formula: mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki} 3 giš.gu.za bára$^{!}$.guškin ès.é. babbar.šè in.ku$_{4}$.re

The herdsman (*utullum*) Aḫu-kēnum (6) occurs also in *YOS* 5 3 V:4 (Sin-iqīšam 5).

The other texts in this volume, with the heading gi.pisan.im.sar.ra, are dated to the last year of Sin-erībam (59; for the year name cf. Edzard *ZZB* 149 fn. 783), Sin-iqīšam (60-62), Ṣilli-Adad (55,57), and Warad-Sin 12 (58).

For statistical reasons a place during the reign of Sin-iqīšam for this year name is most probable.

UET 5 328

Formula: mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki} é.^{d}utu.ra i.ni.in.ku$_{4}$.re

Prosopography: Puzur-Damu (4) = *UET* 5 327:4 (WS 1); 205:13 (Sin-iqīšam), 206:9 (Ṣilli-Adad); Būr-Adad (5) = 205:5, 297:16 (Sin-iqīšam 1); this text has more individuals in common with *UET* 5 205, 297, and 327. Note that the Sin-šemi of line 22 occurs also in 221:17 (Ṣilli-Adad); for Šu-Ilabrat (18) cf. 162:13 (Warad-Sin 3).

Conclusion: it is probable that the year name of *UET* 5 328 is one of Sin-iqīšam, rather than Warad-Sin.

YOS 5 5

Formula: mu.ús.sa 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè 3 giš.gu.za bára èš.é. babbar.ra i.ni.in.ku$_{4}$.re (month I).

This text, written shortly after *YOS* 5 63, has èš.é.babbar in common with that text. Is this the ideosyncrasy of the scribe who may, possibly, have written both texts?

This text is a cattle list of the temple of Ningal and is closely related to *YOS* 5 1 (dated mu ugnim giš.tukul ba.an.sìg, probably Sin-iqīšam 5), *YOS* 5 2 (Sin-iqīšam 5), *YOS* 5 3 (id.), *YOS* 5 4 (Warad-Sin 2), *YOS* 5 6 (date lost). Other texts dated to the time of Sin-iqīšam, Ṣilli-Adad, and the early years of Warad-Sin, also belong to this group (Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 20). This means that our year name may have had a place in Sin-iqīšam's reign.

YOS 5 25

Formula: [mu] ús.sa 14 urudu.alam EN.L[ÍL^{ki} ...].

This text belongs to the group mentioned above, as can be shown by prosopography: almost every individual reappears in the other texts (dated Sin-iqīšam 5, Ṣilli-Adad, Warad-Sin 2). Ur-Bara (22) occurs in *YOS* 5 34:12 (date: 6.I mu.ús.sa 3 giš.gu.za bára KÙ.G[I]).

From all this evidence it becomes highly probable that the formula under discussion is a year name of Sin-iqīšam.

We will revert to this year name, below, p. 26.

However, the year names of two texts pose a problem:

YOS 5 71

Formula: mu. úṣ.sa 14 urudu.[alam] EN.LÍL^{ki} [...]

This is an a.ru.a text; the other ones in *YOS* 5 are dated:

Warad-Sin 2 (14, 31, 32, 68, 72, 78, 161)
mu alam guškin é ^{d}utu.ra i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re (21, 23, 35, 37, 40, 41, 64, 69, 74, 86, 92, 100)
mu ús.sa alam (etc.) (45)
Warad-Sin 5 (20, 22, 24, 27, 39, 42, 43, 44, 67, 73, 77)
Warad-Sin 7 (82; the intercalary Adar is also attested in *YOS* 5 134, a text from the Balmunamḫe archive, dated from Warad-Sin 5 on[5])
Warad-Sin 8 (28, 29).

[5] Leemans, *The Old Babylonian Merchant*, 1950, 64; Matouš, *Charisteria Orientalia*, 1956, 181.

Ku-Nanna (line 6) is probably the dub.sar a.ru.a, attested in seal impressions on *YOS* 5 51, 52 (Warad-Sin 2) and 47 (Warad-Sin 5).

The formula mu alam guškin é ^{d}utu.ra i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re is clearly an abbreviation of a year name. What year name could this be?

A year of Warad-Sin being most likely, I suggest that this may be Warad-Sin 3. Our date list gives the formula mu 1 alam guškin [i]r-^{d}EN.ZU é.^{d}utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re for this year, "year when he brought into the temple of Šamaš one statue of Warad-Sin". It can be proved that very similar formulas could be abbreviated in the same way; see below, p. 17, Warad-Sin 10, and p. 19, Rīm-Sin 3.

The consideration that all a.ru.a texts fall into the reign of Warad-Sin forces us to take the year name of *YOS* 5 71 as a year name of Warad-Sin.

This assumption seems to be supported by **YOS 5 135**

Formula: mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè ṣ giš.gu.<za> guškin <<guškin>> šu.du$_7$.a ḳ.^{d}utu.ra i.ni.[in].ku$_4$.r[e]

Leemans, *BiOr* 12, 1955, 120*b*, has suggested (with due caution) that Sin-muballiṭ (17) could be identical with a man belonging to the Imgur-Sin family, attested in texts dated to the second half of Rīm-Sin's reign. The time gap between this text and the other texts is large. However, if both Sin-muballiṭs are one and the same, *YOS* 5 135 must be dated to Warad-Sin, not Sin-iqīšam.
It is interesting that of all texts studied above only this *YOS* 5 135 describes the three thrones as "perfect" (šu.du$_7$.a); the other texts have bára guškin (*YOS* 5 63), bára.maḫ (61, 167), bára (5). Warad-Sin 7 in our date list has also "perfect", but here the thrones are presented to three gods, not Šamaš alone.

The conclusion is that, for the time being, we cannot use *YOS* 5 135 in this discussion.

Dr. G. van Driel drew my attention to **UET 5 808**

Formula: mu 14 alam.urudu 6 gu.za EN.LÍL.šè

The scribe who wrote this year name made at least two mistakes: EN.LÍL.šè "to Nippur" belongs in the first half of the date formula; and we should read "3" instead of "6" gu.za, "thrones".

The year name could be Sin-iqīšam 4 or Warad-Sin 7. The excavation number of *UET* 5 808 is U. 17214 D. Other texts belonging to this group U. 17214 (see

UET 5 p. 78) are either undated or dated to Warad-Sin 6 (*UET* 5 850), 12 (301), Rīm-Sin 7 (481), 16 (646), 28 (555).

This evidence points to Warad-Sin 7, not Sin-iqīšam 4.

Accepting, then, the year name of *YOS* 5 71 as one of Warad-Sin, one may wonder on its precise position during the latter's reign.

Since Nippur is explicitly mentioned in this formula, Warad-Sin's conquest of this city should be considered as the *terminus post quem*. At this point, we refer to the work done by F. R. Kraus in *JCS* 3, 1951, 38-39 and 43-44; see also Edzard, *ZZB* 149-150. Texts found in Nippur are dated not only to Warad-Sin 7 (Kraus: "5"), 8, 10, 11, 12, but also to kings of Isin who were contemporaries of Warad-Sin. An important question is how long were the reigns of those kings, Īter-pīša and Ur-dukuga. Two manuscripts of the "Sumerian King List" assign four regnal years to each of them.

Zambiya	2	5	Sin-iqīšam	8	Sabium
	3	1	Ṣilli-Adad	9	Sabium
Īterpīša	1	1	Warad-Sin	10	Sabium
	2	2			
	3	3			
	4	4			
Urdukuga	1	5		14	Sabium
	2	6		1	Apil-Sin
	3	7			
	4	8			
Sin-māgir	1	9			
	2	10			
	3	11			
	4	12			
	5	13		8	Apil-Sin
	6	1	Rīm-Sin	9	Apil-Sin
Sin-māgir	11	6			
Damiq-ilišu	1	7			
	23	29		19	Sin-muballiṭ
		60		30	Hammurabi

Two kinglists (duplicates[6]) published by Sollberger, *JCS* 8, 1954, 135-136, give the kings only three years each. Edzard, *ZZB* 18-19, accepts these figures as correct.

There are two objections against attaching too much value to these texts. Firstly, ex. A is full of mistakes, the figure before Īterpīša is destroyed in the much better ex. B. Secondly, as shown in the chart on p. 14, a total of only six years for both kings would make Zambiya's reign contemporaneous with Ṣilli-Adad and Warad-Sin; there is, however, a synchronism of Sin-iqīšam and Zambiya (year name Sin-iqīšam 5).

Three year names of Urdukuga are known from texts found in Nippur : (*1*) Kraus, *JCS* 3 7; (*a*) *PBS* 8/1 10 (month VIII ?); (*b*) *TIM* 4 11 (month VIII; for the year name see Pettinato, *OR* NS 38, 1969, 148; cf. Sollberger-Kupper, *IRSA* 181 IV A 13a).

This means that Nippur was in Urdukuga's possession for at least two, possibly three, years before Warad-Sin conquered the city. This is only possible if we assign to Urdukuga four years, as does the "Sumerian King List". The chart shows that the conquest of Nippur by Warad-Sin could have occurred only during his sixth year; formula Urdukuga (*1*) is a variant of either (*a*) or (*b*).

It is obvious that immediately after his conquest of Nippur Warad-Sin asserted his authority over this religious centre by presenting statues to its temples.

We found that the year name of *YOS* 5 71, an a.ru.a text, must be one of Warad-Sin. This year name mentions Nippur and must be Warad-Sin 8 (ús.sa <7>).

This is a provisional reconstruction of the fullest formula of Warad-Sin 7 :

mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}.šè (...) (?) 3 giš.gu.za bár.maḫ.guškin.šu. du$_7$.a é ^{d}nanna ^{d}nin.gal ù é.^{d}utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re

The reader should be aware of the fact that the date formula in this form is not (yet) attested in any text.

Here, we are faced with the fact that Warad-Sin and Sin-iqīšam had year names which very much resembled each other : both record the presentation of fourteen statues to Nippur and add that three thrones were given to the temple of Šamaš (so Sin-iqīšam) or to the temples of Nanna, Ningal and Šamaš (so Warad-Sin).

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[6] From Sollberger's description one gains the impression that ex. A is the work of a school boy, whereas ex. B may have been written by the teacher.

Those temples were probably not in Nippur. A text found in Ur, *UET* 5 773 (= Figulla, *Iraq* 15, 1953, 90 No. 6), is a disbursement of barley from the granary of the Nanna temple, sá.dug$_4$ giš.gu.za bára.guškin ^{d}utu gu.la gaba.ri! ìr-^{d}EN.ZU lugal "regular offerings (for) the golden throne dais of Šamaš, the big one, gift (Akk. *meḫrum*) of Warad-Sin, the king". The text is dated Rīm-Sin 4. If the presentation of this throne was recorded in a year name, then this must have been Warad-Sin 7. In that case, the temple of Šamaš in Ur is meant. It is almost certain that the other two temples, of Nanna and Ningal, were also in Ur.

Of course, it is no coincidence that these year names of Sin-iqīšam and Warad-Sin resemble each other so much: Warad-Sin consciously repeats in Nippur what Sin-iqīšam had done, more than eight years ago.

8 "Year: the high priestess (*entum*) of Nanna was installed". The full formula mentions the name of the high priestess, Enannedu (Renger, *ZA* 58, 1967, 120; Penelope N. Weadock, *Iraq* 37, 1975, 103). The shortened formula occurs also in *YOS* 5 28, 29; *BE* 6/2 1 (here var. mu.ḫun.gá) and is identical with Sumu-el 23.

9 The correct sequence of year names 9-13 was already known to Miss Grice from *YOS* 5 202, as summarized by Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 155*a*, A.

Our list omits kisal.maḫ before é.^{d}nanna. No other examples for this omission are known to me; mu é.^{d}nanna(?) in *UET* 5 638:6 might be a case in point.

The year name of *TLB* 1 4 is one of Warad-Sin (his name in the oath formula) but could not be read by Leemans, *SLB* 1/2 p. 13. Collation showed after the destroyed lines: ^{31} ù 2 gi[š.gu.za ...] ^{32} é.bára[7].šè i.n[i].ku$_4$.r[e]. Collation of *TLB* 1 2:32, year name, showed a clear kisal on the tablet and the case (not copied by Leemans), looking like an extended GIŠ and quite distinct from é, cf. *TLB* 1 1:28. All these texts belong to the archive of Sarriqum and are dated Warad-Sin 9.

10 "Year: he brought one golden, perfect, statue of Kudur-Mabuk into the temple of Šamaš".

Two texts have the word guškin "golden" between alam and *Kudur-mabuk*: *PBS* 8/1 25 = *PBS* 5 80 (mu ^{d}ìr-^{d}EN.ZU lugal.e alam.guškin *Ku-du-úr-ma-bu-uk* e.^{d}utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.ra) and *TCL* 10 9 (mu alam.guškin 1 *Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk* é.^{d}utu.šè i.ni.in.ku$_4$.re). The year name of *UET* 5 187 is very similar: [mu alam].guškin níg *Ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk* [é.^{d}ut]u.šè in.ni.in.ku$_4$.re

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[7] bára is written like MA; for more simplified writings of BÁR, see *YOS* 5 63:10, 131:33, *BIN* 7 163:37.
Another collation: the occupation of the first witness in *TLB* 1 3:18 is ŠU.SILA$_3$.DU$_8$.A (= sagi) lugal.

(Warad-Sin's name is not mentioned in the text and [é.^{d}nann]a.šè is also possible).

A short formula of this year name may be

mu alam.guškin é.^{d}utu.šè in.ni.ku$_4$,

UET 5 806. Studying the career of the herdsman (ú.túl) Agūa (806:15), one finds that he is attested in *UET* 5 texts between Warad-Sin 6 (850:9) and Rīm-Sin 16 (677:19) (no title). The Agūa who occurs shortly after the fall of Isin (Rīm-Sin 30) may be another man (825:11, etc.).

The texts where Agūa is explicitly called ú.túl (*utullum*) are: 626:39 (WS 13), 809:66, 811 rev. 6 (RS 2), 812:6 (RS 4), 628:3 (RS 5), 111:31 (RS 10), 604:34 (RS 12).

Rīm-Sin 11 records the presentation of two statues of Rīm-Sin to Šamaš, but those are *copper* statues. The only other candidate for the date formula of *UET* 5 806 seems to be Warad-Sin 10. But cp. my comments on Rīm-Sin 3 (below).

Note that we found the same abbreviation for Warad-Sin 3.

This year has an intercalary Adar: *TLB* 1 3, *YOS* 5 119.

11 This year name is amply attested. The signs in *UET* 5 486:15 may be read as [mu bàd.gal] ŠEŠ.UNU$^{(!)ki}$ ba.dù.

12 There is one sign too much in the GN, normally written SAG.PA.KAB.DU.GA (= *Āl-Šarrākī*, see lastly Falkenstein, *Baghd. Mitt.* 2, 1963, 21). I cannot identify the extra sign (see the copy) which may be spurious, after all. Presargonic and Ur III texts often insert SAL, see Gelb, *MAD* 3 284. Cf. D.O. Edzard and G. Farber, *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes*, Band 2, 1974, 232-4.

13 The DN in this year name cannot, as yet, be read; see Edzard, *ZZB* 175 fn. 959. In our date list the crucial sign after NIN is damaged; see the copy on p. 5.

Professor Kraus sees on the photograph ^{d}Nin.x.DUL$_4$. For the sign DUL$_4$, see Landsberger, *MSL* 2 81, on line 651.

The name of the (main?) temple of Maškan-šāpir was Meslam according to the Prologue of CH (obv. IV:6). We know that Nergal was venerated in this city (*TCL* 18 113:12-13). One expects, therefore, to find in this name a deity belonging to the circle of Nergal.
Closer study of the god's name as copied by Miss Grice, Thureau-Dangin, Jean, and Figulla, shows that the name is written in three different ways:

^{d}nin.gá.BAD.X, *YOS* 5 127:29; 202:13, 49; 207:6.

^{d}nin.BAD.X, *UET* 5 138:28; 139:23 (here X = EZEN); 270:30; 626:41 (here X = EZEN?).
^{d}nin.EZEN.ga (?), AO. 6356 (= *RA* 15 23, e= *TCL* 10 12).

There is a god ^{d}nin.gá.ug$_5$ (EZEN x BAD).ga in the OB gods list *TCL* 15 Pl. XXXI No. 10:417; the name of this god is followed by that of Nergal. The Emesal Vocabulary offers the equations ^{d}gašan.ma.ug$_5$.ga = ^{d}nin.gá.ug$_5$.ga = ^{d}*Gu-la* (I:101, in *MSL* 4 9; Deimel, *Pantheon*, no. 2444). The preceding entry deals with ^{d}nin.tin.ug$_5$.ga, who is apparently distinct from our deity, although equally identifiable with Gula (cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 70ff.).

A god ^{d}nin.é.ug$_5$.ga was identified with Ninkarrak in An-*Anum* (Deimel, *Pantheon* no. 2516 with Poebel, *ZA* 39, 1930, 142).

Prof. Veenhof refers me to Nougayrol, *Ugaritica* V p. 416 right side, line 128 [^{d}] nin.E[Z]EN (?).X (corresponds with Weidner, *AfK* 2, 1924-26, 75 col. v line 4a = *KAV* 63 iii 39; 65 iii 21 ^{d}nin.SAR = ^{d}[...]).

The question of the identity of the god in our year name remains open.

The year names of Warad-Sin : Concordance

A. 7534	Ungnad, *RLA* 2	Edzard, *ZZB*	Grice, *Chron.*	Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15
1	1	1	1	—
2	2*a*	2	*a*	p. 40 (*h*) = *Tell Sifr* 94
3	Cf. p. 159 [189, 5*b*]	—	Cf. p. 41 (*g*)	(Cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3 19 Formel *a*)
4	p. 159 [189, 5*a*]	—	p. 43 (*u*)	(Cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3 20f.)
5	5	*c* = 5 or 4	*c*	—
6	4*a*	*b* = 4 or 5	*e*	p. 22 (*d*) = *TCL* 10 15
7	3	*a* = 3	*a*	p. 21 (*b*) = *TCL* 10 14
8	6	*e* = 7	*d*	—
9	8	8	8	p. 22 (*c*) = *TCL* 10 4-6
10	9	9	9	p. 21-22 (27) = *TCL* 10 7-9
11	10	10	10	p. 23 (*f*) = *TCL* 10 10
12	11	11	11	p. 23 (*g*) = *TCL* 10 11
13	12	12	12	p. 23 (*e*) = *TCL* 10 12

3. *The year names of Rīm-Sin*

The contents of the year names of Rīm-Sin have been summarized by Edzard, *ZZB* 177-8.

1 Note that here and in Rīm-Sin 11, 22, the king's name is preceded by the determinative dingir "god". This is in contradistinction to "Warad-Sin" in Warad-Sin 1, 3, and Rīm-Sin 2.

2 *UET* 5 140 (dated to the first month) offers mu ús.sa *Ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU.

Our date list omits šà before é.gal.bar.ra.šè. šà is attested in *YOS* 5 199 and Riftin 103.

3 End of line 23: after having drawn the horizontal, <<AŠ>>, the scribe realized that there was no room for RI, and he wrote ri below na.

I think that

mu alam.guškin é.^{d}nanna.šè in.ni.ku$_4$.[re],

UET 5 849, is an abbreviation of this year name: this text is closely related to *UET* 5 810 (Rīm-Sin 3); both deal with cows and have Agūa and Mānum in common, as do *UET* 5 627:27 (records over Rīm-Sin 1-4), 626:3, 39 (Warad-Sin 13), 812:6 (Rīm-Sin 4), possibly 176:22, 25 (Rīm-Sin 3).

There is, however, one problem: this shortened formula mentions a golden statue, whereas the year name Rīm-Sin 3 refers to "four *copper* statues". Cf. my comments on WS 10 (above).

Butz, *WZKM* 65/66 (1973/74) 30 fn. 58, recognized the same problem but could not offer a solution.

5 Our date list provides now the final proof for the correctness of Ungnad's hypothesis that this year name, attested in dated texts, must be Rīm-Sin 5 (*RLA* 2 155*a*).

The list omits šà before é.gal.bar.ra.šè. This šà is attested in *YOS* 8 5, 18; *UET* 5 335; Langdon *Babyloniaca* 7 (1913-1923) pp. 42, 45 (b).

6 For ^{d}bár$^{!}$.ul.gar, cf. ^{d}bár$^{!}$.ul.gar in *UET* 5 108. Other deviating forms are ^{d}bár.ul.gar.ra, *UET* 5 337, 364, 235(!), *Tell Sifr* 4; ^{d}bár.u$_4$.ul.gar.ra, *ARN* 24.

Normal is ^{d}bár.ul.e.gar.ra, as in *UET* 5 177, 724; Riftin 51; Frank, *StrKt* 26, and passim.

7 a.šà GUB is a mistake for a.šà šà.túm.ma, as in *YOS* 5 178, 180, 181, etc.

For šà.túm ("Feld, Flur") see Sjöberg, *MNS* I, 1960, 29-30.

8 Only the lower horizontal of é in ^{d}Nin-é.NIM.ma is preserved. Edzard, *ZZB* 177 fn. 970, followed by Renger, *HSAO* 159 under Ur, reads this DN as ^{d}nin.líl-elam.ma. I would suggest to read ^{d}nin.é.NIM.ma, as in *UET* 5 709:3

and 62:5 (é like gá), and to connect this goddess with the locality uru é.NIM.ma, known from *UET* 5 72:32; cf. é.NIM.ma ki, *MSL* 11 62 Appendix 4:14 (= *YOS* 5 105; courtesy Prof. Veenhof).

9 zà.a.ab.ba.šè "to the sea" is attested in numerous dated texts (*TCL* 10 32-34; *UET* 5 123, 179, 180, 572; *CT* 36 50; Riftin 53). Contrast the comments on year name 16, below.

The Akkadian version is attested in *TLB* 1 25, written upside down on the lower edge :

[mu] íd.da *La-ga-a*[*š*-(x)] *ú-še-eḫ-ru-ú*.

Read probably *La-ga-a*[*š* (^{ki})], not *La-ga-ši'-tum* as suggested by me, *RA* 65, 1971, 95; see Leemans' copy (confirmed by collation).

10 Many texts offer bàd.gal instead of bàd (*UET* 5 146, 247, 338, 415, etc.; Riftin 23). The Larsa date list gives the formula [mu] bàd [^{d}utu.gar.r]a gú íd UD.KIB.NUN.n[a...], *RA* 15, 1918, 54 III:8.

The only other text where "on the bank of the Euphrates" occurs is Jean, *Tell Sifr* 9*a*: [mu] bàd ^{d}utu.gar.ra [gú í]d UD.KIB.NUN.na mu.un.dù.a.

11 Full formula: mu 2 urudu.alam $šud_x$.$šud_x$.dè *Ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal é.^{d}utu.šè in.ku_4.re, Jean, *Tell Sifr* 11*a*.

YOS 5 200 omits lugal; *UET* 5 818 omits *Ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU. *UET* 5 233 omits both words. See my note on WS 10 (above) for a possible abbreviation.

12 Full formula: mu nin.dingir ^{d}iškur šà.Karkar (IM)^{ki} ba.ḫun.gá, *YOS* 5 232, *UET* 1 256, etc.

13 Fullest formula: mu bàd.gal *Iš-ku-un*-^{d}GÌR.UNU.GA[L^{ki}] [ba.dù], Jean, *Tell Sifr* 12; cf. *TLB* 1 12. Also: mu bàd.gal ^{d}GÌR.UNU.GAL.gar.ra ba.dù (var. mu.un.dù.a), *UET* 5 181 (var. from *VAS* 13 57).

Only these four texts have gal after bàd; the numerous other texts which bear this year name have only bàd. The Larsa date list published by Thureau-Dangin shows [mu b]àd ^{d}GÌR.UNU.GAL.gar.ra [...], *RA* 15, 1918, 54 III:12. For reasons of space I think that our date list A. 7534 can have had hardly more than [mu bàd] at the beginning of line 39.

The gal after bàd in the four texts cited above may be a mistake, possibly induced by the wording of year name 10.

YOS 5 234 offers mu bàd uru.ki *Iš-ku-un*-^{d}GÌR.UNU.GAL mu.un.dù.a (cf. mu bàd uru.ki gar.ra-^{d}GÌR.UNU.GAL ba.dù, *YOS* 5 235).

14 The sequence Rapiqum-Sutium is more frequent than the reverse order, see Kupper, *Nomades* 84 fn. 1.

Of the name Irdanene, mostly written ìr.ne.ne (but note "Arad-dím-dím", AO 3744, cited *VAB* 1 p. XX fn. 1; cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3 40 fn. 21 [8]), only ìr is clear to me; the following signs on the tablet look like GEŠTIN (= x) and LÀL (= y) and are quite different from NE; see the copies on p. 5.

For some texts dated to this year, see p. 8 fn. 1.

15 Most complete formula: mu ka-íd.da.meš^{ki} ù uru.ki *Na-za-rum* giš. tukul.kalag.ga.ni.ta in.dib, *YOS* 8 49, cf. *YOS* 8, 16, 17; Riftin 15, 25.

The restoration [mu uru.ki] ka-íd.da [^{k}]^{i} ù uru.k[i *N*]*a-za-ru-um* ^{ki} (*sic*) ba.an.dib in the Larsa date list, by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15, 1918, 7 III:16, is now confirmed by some texts from Ur, which have also uru.ki before the first GN (*UET* 5 159 and 375).

Note the variant formula mu ka-íd.da ba.an.gul ù uru.ki *Na-za-ru-um* ba.an.dib, *UET* 5 644.

See also the discussion on Sin-iqīšam 2, below p. 24f.

16 Full formula: mu íd.eden.na íd.ḫé.gál.la mu.ba.al.lá, *YOS* 5 241 (var. mu.un.ba.al.la, *YOS* 8 27; ba.ba.al, *TCL* 10 42, 44, etc.).

The only source for [z]à.a.ab.ba.šè "to the sea" (after íd.ḫé.gál.la) is the Larsa date list, *RA* 15 54 III:17. It is not clear whether this is correct. Cf. my comments on year name 9.

For the historical implications of this "to the sea", see Renger, *AfO* 23, 1970, 78*a*.

According to Miss Grice, *Chronology* p. 42 *p* and fn. 235; Ungnad, *RLA* 2 158 [173]; and Kraus, *Edikt*, 1958, 222, the unidentified year name

mu (íd) en.te.na íd.ḫé.gál mu (var. ba).ba.al

(vars. from *UET* 5 308) could be a variant of Rīm-Sin 16 (see for this year name already Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15 39 *e* = *TCL* 10 128). An entry in ḪḪ XXII Section 4 shows that this identification is correct: [íd] eden.na = *en-te-na*, *MSL* 11, 1974, 25 A col. ii 12'. Long ago, Landsberger had communicated this passage to Kraus, see *BiOr* 16, 1959, 97*a* ad S. 222.

17 Fullest formula attested on dated texts: mu *Im-gur*-^{d}BIL.GI^{ki} ù uru.ki

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[8] AO 3744 has been published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 6, 1907, 138.

Zi-ib-na-tum giš.tukul.kalag.ga.ta[!] in.di[b.ba], *VAS* 13 94; cf. *YOS* 8 50, Riftin 56.

Only the two date lists insert the words [d]en.líl.mu.(un).na.(an).sum.ma.ta.

UET 5 376 inserts bàd.gal before the first GN.

18 Fullest formula on dated texts (for an exception, see below):

mu uru.ki é.*Šu*-[d]EN.ZU.na ù uru.ki *ú-za-ar-pa-ra* ba.an.dib, *UET* 5 378.

uru.ki before the first GN occurs also in *UET* 5 341, 389, 614. In *UET* 5 341 the second GN is written *ú-za-ar'-ba-ra*; for other variants see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 162 [220].

Larsa date list: [mu é.*Šu*]-[d]EN.ZU ù *ú-zar-pa-ra*[ki] [giš.tukul].kalag.ga.[[d]] en.líl.mu.un.na.sum.ma.ta in.dib.ba, *RA* 15 54 III:20-21.

The year name published as *UET* 1 255 (= *RLA* 2 158 [165]) runs mu é.*Šu*-[d]EN.ZU.na ba.an.dib and is Rīm-Sin 18 (with Edzard, *ZZB* 143 fn. 754).

On a contract, dated to the first month, we find the exceptional phrasing:

mu é.*Šu*-[d]EN.ZU ù uru.ki *ú-za-ar-pa-ra* á.maḫ [d]en.líl.lá mu.na.SUM.ta u_4.aš.àm in.dib.ba

(Schroeder, *OLZ* 21, 1918, 75; see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 162 [220]).

Anbar, *RA* 69, 1975, 134 Fig. 11, offers mu é.*Šu*-[d]EN.ZU.na (case adds ki) [giš.tuk]ul.kalag.ga (only on case) in.dib.ba.

19 Full formula:

mu íd idigna íd.dingir.re.e.ne nam.ḫé.tùm zà.a.ab.ba.šè mu.ba.al.lá,

YOS 5 245, *TCL* 10 49.

On dated texts, the word nam.ḫé.tùm is mostly omitted by the scribes; zà.a.ab.ba.šè is very often attested (exceptions: *UET* 5 112a, 194).

Short formulas: mu íd idigna mu.ba.al (and vars.), *Tell Sifr* 17 (cf. 17*a*); mu íd idigna, Riftin 106-110.

Hard to explain is the formula mu íd idigna IGI+KU (libir ?) ba.ba.al, *UET* 5 777 (Figulla, *Iraq* 15, 1953, 97-8 no. 18). Sin-iddinam year 2 ?

20 mu ki.sur.ra[ki] ba.an.dib ù giš.tukul.kalag.ga.ni.ta.[d]en.líl.le.mu.na.sum.ma.ta BÀD.AN[ki] mu.na.ḫul.a "Year: Kisurra was conquered and with the mighty weapon, given to him by Enlil, he destroyed Dēr", Jean, *Tell Sifr* 18*a* (= *RA* 15 32 B. 44*a*).

The GN Dēr is written BÀD^{ki} in the two date lists and in *YOS* 5 204:12. Note BÀD.A^{ki} in *YOS* 8 37, 38.

Practically all the texts cited by Miss Grice and Ungnad have either the long formula of our date list or mu ki.sur.ra^{ki} ba.(an.)dib.(ba).
The first half of the year name is in the date list published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15, 1918, [p. 54] III:23

[mu ki.sur.r]a^{ki} UD.U[N]U$^{[k]i}$.ma.šè mu.un.na.kur$_4$.ra (= Ungnad, *RLA* 2 152 [222]).

Only one text seems to have this variant: mu ki.sur.ra^{ki} UD.UNU^{ki} mu.x (text LAGAB x ḪI = engur ?) ù giš.tukul.kalag.ga.^{d}en.líl.mu.na.sum, *YOS* 5 203.

The full form of the first half of this year name may have been

*mu ki.sur.ra^{ki} ba.an.dib.ba UD.UNU^{ki}.ma.šè mu.un.na.kur$_4$.ra

"Year: Kisurra was conquered and he united (that city) with Larsa".

21 Complete formula in *YOS* 5 79, *YOS* 8 31, *TCL* 10 52. Riftin 29 ends: šu.gar mu.gar.re.eš.

Kraus, *ARN* p. 80, takes the year name of *ARN* 29 (Ni. 1993) as a bad rendering of Rīm-Sin 21 (?).

22 Line 55, erasure: the signs A and SIPAD have been erased.

Line 58: our text omits GÁN.dagal.la (before bí.in.daḫ.a), attested in the Larsa date list (*RA* 15 54 III:32) and on dated texts (*YOS* 5 217, 220; *YOS* 8 36).

4. *The year names of Sin-iqīšam*

The date list *UET* 1 266 lists five year names of Sin-iqīšam. Basing themselves on this list as well as on year names attested in the texts, Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 159 [185-189], and Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 18-21, reconstructed the year names. I will not repeat their work here, but will make a few observations.

1-3 *YOS* 5 62 has the formula mu ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-q[í-š]a-am* lu[gal]. The text is dated to an intercalary Adar. Another intercalary Adar is attested in Meek, *AJSL* 33, 1916-17, 235 RFH 25, dated with year name 3. *YOS* 5 160:1-5, with year name 3, refers to a loan of silver concluded on the sixth of an intercalary Adar, apparently of the preceding year.

Although it is difficult to accept the occurrence of three intercalary Adars in three subsequent years, we cannot reject this off-hand. However, two other solutions are possible:

a. *YOS* 5 160:2 refers to 6.XIII of Sin-iqīšam 1;
b. Year name 2 in the date list is wrong; possibly an insertion by the scribe (see below).

2 The date list *UET* 1 266:5 gives as the second year of Sin-iqīšam:

mu uru ka-id.[da] ù *Na-za-ru-um* ba.an.dib (= Ungnad, *RLA* 2 159*b* [186]).

The year name Rīm-Sin 15 has exactly the same formula; for this and other considerations, Kraus, *OLZ* 50, 1955, 522, registered doubts concerning this year name Sin-iqīšam 2.

Close study of the texts dated with this formula yielded the following results.

UET 5 has only four such texts. No. 375, belonging to the Iddin-Ea archive (see above p. 8 fn. 1), and 644, belonging to 645 (Rīm-Sin 16), are clearly dated to Rīm-Sin 15. In the third text, *UET* 5 159, Ea-nāṣir buys a plot from *Ad-ma-tim* and his brother; in the preceding text, 158, Ea-nāṣir buys a plot from *Ad-ma-AN*. This text is dated [mu íd$^{!}$ idigna ba.ba.al. This is either Sin-iddinam 2 or Rīm-Sin 19.

The last text, 209, helps us much more; it has all its witnesses in common with *UET* 5 267:10-14 (Warad-Sin 6). Three of them witness the partition of an inheritance in *UET* 5 106 rev. 7-8, 11 (Warad-Sin 7). This brings us closer to Sin-iqīšam 2 than to Rīm-Sin 15.

Texts in other publications are either clearly dated to Rīm-Sin 15 (*YOS* 8 11, 16, 17, 49: the Balmunamḫe archive), or could not be dated at all.

Sin-iqīšam 2 had probably an intercalary Adar; see above sub 1.

Note mu.ús.sa ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša* lugal, *UET* 5 166, case (dated to the first month) (ref. Prof. Kraus).

Mr. Marcel Sigrist kindly informs me that three unpublished tablets explicitly attribute to Sin-iqīšam the year name

mu ^{d}numušda ^{d}*naṃrat* ^{d}lugal-*awak* šà.*kazallu*^{ki}.šè mu.na.dím

(5 NT 125; 5 NT 253; —)

This year name was already known to us in a more expanded form from *TCL* 10 129-130 and *TIM* 3 120; see Edzard, *ZZB* 170, who assigned the year name to Warad-Sin, as Kraus, *AfO* 16, 1952-53, 322b, did. There is a hymn to Numušda (the main god of Kazallu) with a prayer for Sin-iqīšam, *VAS* 17 38 (see Sjöberg, *Orientalia Suecana* 22, 1973, 107-116, and Dupret, *OR* NS 43, 1974, 327-343). This hymn made F. Reschid, *Archiv des Nūršamaš*, 1965, 9-10, believe

that our year name is one of Sin-iqīšam. The discovery by Marcel Sigrist confirms Reschid's theory.

This year name needs not necessarily be Sin-iqīšam 4, as suggested by Reschid. In our present state of knowledge, it can be part of any year name of Sin-iqīšam. Now, year names 3, 4 and 5 in their full forms commemorate *two* events. Similarly, the full formula of year name 2 may have consisted of two distinct parts. Can we consider the year name under discussion as the second half of Sin-iqīšam 2? This is not impossible, as will now be shown.

1) Prosopography: *TCL* 10 129-130 mention Ištar-ili, a member of the Sānum family. He and his brother are first attested in texts dated to Sin-iqīšam 3 (Kraus, *AfO* 16 322*b*). Thus, prosopographical considerations do not exclude Sin-iqīšam 2 as a possibility.

2) Historical and geographical context: We do not know where Nazarum is located (see lastly Falkenstein, *Baghd. Mitt.* 2, 1963, 30). *Ka-idda* (= Pînārātim) was quite far from Larsa (Edzard, *ZZB* 110 fn. 546). The conquest of Nazarum and Ka-idda, followed by the solemn introduction of the statues of the three gods into the city of Kazallu, seem to represent three subsequent phases in a successfull military campaign to the North. It is noteworthy that Sumu-el's expansion to the North (as described by Walters, *Water for Larsa*, 1970, 163-4) was marked by the sack of Akuṣ, the victory over the troops of *Kazallu* (year name 4), the sack of *Ka-idda* (year name 8) and the victory over the troops of Kish (year name 11) (for the year names, see Walters, *RA* 67, 1973, 35-36).

3 See Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 19.
I think that Formel *a* and *b* represent year name 3, whereas Formel *c* is year name 4.

It is sufficiently clear that Formel *b* is an abbreviation of Formel *a*. Formel *c*, however, has so many features not shared by *a* or *b*, that it is safer to consider it as distinct from *a* = *b* = 3; so already Miss Grice, *Chronology*, 1919, 21. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15, 1918, 20, was the first to suggest that both year names could be one and the same.

OECT 8 17 and 18 prove that mu (^{d}EN.ZU-*i-qí-ša-am* lugal.e) alam.guškin alam.kù.babbar ^{d}utu.ra mu.na.an.ku$_4$ (var. mu.na.dím) is an abbreviation of this year name 3. It is important to note that these formulas consistently mention a golden *and* a silver statue. A similar abbreviation, mentioning only a golden statue, cited by Kraus at the end of his discussion of Formel *a*, has been studied by me above, p. 7, under Warad-Sin 3.

Sin-iqīšam 3 may be the obscure year name of *UET* 5 329, where I propose to read mu bàd.gal$^{!}$ UD.U[NU]$^{![ki]}$ ba.d[ù].

4 Kraus, *JCS* 3 19, Formel *c*, must be the name of the fourth year. This year name, on "The Fourteen Statues For Nippur ...", has been studied above, p. 10ff., in the section on the seventh year name of Warad-Sin. There, it became clear that a number of texts, dated with this formula, belong to Sin-iqīšam's reign; they could hardly be dated to Warad-Sin 7 (*YOS* 5 5, 25, 63; *UET* 5 328).

If we take the year names of *YOS* 5 61 and 167 to be Sin-iqīšam 4 (above, p. 10f.), we arrive at the following provisional reconstruction :

mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}(.šè) (ù) 3 giš.gu.za bára.maḫ (var. guškin) [(x)] alam.^{d}utu.^{d}šè.nir.da.guškin.šu.du$_{7}$.a..... é.^{d}utu.šè (var. ra) (Var. èš.é.babbar.šè/ra) i.ni.in.ku$_{4}$.re (and vars.)

"Year : he brought fourteen copper statues in Nippur (and) three lofty (var. golden) throne daises, a (?) golden, perfect statue of Šamaš and Šenirda (= Aya) ..... into the temple of Šamaš".

This year name could be abbreviated in several ways; attested are :

mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki} é.^{d}utu.ra i.ni.in.ku$_{4}$.re, *UET* 5 328
* mu 14 urudu.alam EN.LÍL^{ki}, *YOS* 5 25
* mu 3 giš.gu.za bára.guškin, *YOS* 5 34 (see above, p. 12, on *YOS* 5 25).

What remained of this year name in the date list *UET* 1 266:7 confirms my hypothesis. We can restore this line as follows: m[u 14 urudu.alam EN.] LÍL a[lam é.^{d}utu.šè] [i].ni.in.[ku$_{4}$.re]; the vertical before a[lam] is not the figure "one", but the last vertical of LÍL (or :]^{ki}.šè$^{!}$?).

YOS 5 45, according to Kraus, *JCS* 3 20 (4), dated to Sin-iqīšam 4, is another a.ru.a text and is actually dated to Warad-Sin's reign (see above, p. 12; on *YOS* 5 71).

5 See Kraus, *JCS* 3 20 (5).
Sin-iqīšam 5 is now also attested in *UET* 5 299: mu ugniḿ.NIM.ma ù *Za-bi-ja* lugal.ì.si.na^{ki} giš.tukul ba.ḫúb (?); for ḫúb, see Edzard, *ZZB* 170 fn. 919; read tu$_{x}$(-b), Sjöberg, *ZA* 54 62-63 (ref. Prof. Römer).

At the end of his discussion of the year names of Sin-iqīšam, Kraus cites the year names of *YOS* 5 17 and 59 which were hard to identify at that time. The year name on *YOS* 5 17 is Warad-Sin 4 and *YOS* 5 59 is dated to the last year of Sin-erībam, see Edzard, *ZZB* 149 fn. 783.

The discovery of the date formula of the fourth year bears some interesting consequences for the history of Nippur. Within his system, Kraus could not

reconcile the facts emerging from the texts found in Nippur (*JCS* 3 38); the solution proposed by Matouš, *ArOr* 20, 1952, 312, is still based on twelve, not thirteen, years for Warad-Sin.

From my chart, below, it becomes clear that Zambiya had occupied Nippur for some time during his first year, but had to give up the city somewhere between 17.IX and 26.X of that same year. The defeat of Zambiya, commemorated in year name 5 of Sin-iqīšam, obviously entailed the loss of Nippur.

Texts from Nippur

Enlil-bāni 24 none ?	Sin-iqīšam 3 —.VIII *PBS* 8/1 23 —.IX *PBS* 8/1 22 —.XII *OECT* 8 17, 18
Zambiya 1 —.VIII *PBS* 8/1 11 17.IX Ni.102 (*OLZ* 1907 386)	Sin-iqīšam 4 26.X *PBS* 8/1 24
Zambiya 2 none	Sin-iqīšam 5 none
Zambiya 3 none	Sabium 9 6.IX 2 NT 132
Īter-pīša 1 26.III *PBS* 13 4	Warad-Sin 1-6 none

5. *Sabium of Babylon in Southern Babylonia*

In the first chart, above p. 14, we tacitly added the regnal years of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, contemporaries of Sin-iqīšam, Ṣilli-Adad, and Rīm-Sin. For our computations, we used the commonly accepted figures given by the date list *CT* 6 9-10 = *LIḪ* 2 101; see Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 164ff.

The first year name of Sabium which can be read on this date list is mu é *i-bé-nu-*[*um* mu.un.gibil], Sabium 9; this is the year when texts from Ur and Larsa are dated to Ṣilli-Adad.

There is an account of sheep (udu *šu-šu-ru-um*), found in Nippur, which is dated [itu.gan.ga]n.è ud.6.kam [m]u é *i-bi-a-nu-um* (2 NT 132 = IM.57851; unpubl.). I think it to be 6.IX Sabium 9. For the following reasons, it would not be far-fetched to think of Sabium as the ruler of Nippur at that time:

1. the power of Larsa was at a low ebb during these years, notably at the time of Ṣilli-Adad;
2. the year name of *CT* 45 3 proudly records Sabium's victory over the troops of Larsa, mu erén UD.UNU [ki] giš.tukul ba.sìg; this must be one of the years Sabium 2-7[9]. See for this event Kraus, *BiOr* 22, 1965, 292*b* (10).

From the texts found in Uruk as evaluated by Falkenstein in *Baghd. Mitt.* 2 (1963) we know that Sumu-la-el and his son Sabium were politically active in Southern Babylonia, that Sin-kāšid of Uruk married a daughter of Sumu-la-el (p. 6-7) and, that Sabium, "the king, lord of his city", once (could have) assisted Uruk with one thousand men (Anam letter III:36-37; p. 58 and 26).

There is one problem: in Ṣilli-Adad, inscr. 1, and Warad-Sin, inscr. 14 (both not found in Nippur), both kings call themselves ú.a EN.LÍL^{ki} "provider of Nippur". Only in these inscriptions they bear the modest title "governor (ensí) of Ur, Larsa, and the land of Kutalla". This makes me believe that Warad-Sin's inscr. 14 was composed during his first years; in any case before his conquest of Nippur (year 6).

It is possible, but not probable, that some time during those years Nippur belonged to Ṣilli-Adad and Warad-Sin. The title "provider of Nippur" *could* have been no more than a claim. It was never a regular part of the Larsa titulary (Hallo, *AOS* 43 147).

In his eleventh year Sabium [destroyed (?)] the wall of Kazallu. In the preceding year, Warad-Sin had destroyed the wall of Kazallu and smitten its (var. Mutiabal's) troops in Larsa. This makes the synchronism as constructed by Edzard, *ZZB* 21-22, invalid.

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[9] Other year names of Sabium which fall in this span have been listed by Ungnad, *RLA* 2 176 [53-55] and Edzard, *ZZB* 151 fn. 794. Add mu íd *Sà-bi-um*, *MDP* 28 473; mu *Dil-bat*^{ki} (?) *Sà-bi-um* [m]u.dím.ma (?), Pinches, *Peek* no. 13 (has connections with *BE* 6/1 10, dated Sabium *b*; Walther, *Gerichtswesen* 16). I am inclined to read in Gautier, *Dilbat* no. 31 rev. 10 mu bàd *Sar-ba-tum*^{ki} (Edzard: *Dul-ba-tum*); cf. ^{d}*Ištar-Sa-ar-ba-at*, *TCL* 1 83, third seal impression, last line, with Dossin, *RA* 61, 1967, 102 on line 18. Dr. G. van Driel pointed out to me that this year name could be Sin-muballiṭ 1, commonly read mu bàd *Ru-ba-tum*^{ki} ba.dù (Date List *CT* 6 9 = King, *LIH* 2 101 ii 28 after Ungnad, *RlA* 2 177 No. 83). Nothing prevents us from reading *Sar-ba-tum* in the pertinent texts, listed by Barbara Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 36. The buyer in Gautier, *Dilbat*, No. 31, Nāḫi-ili, son of Iddin-Lagamal, is attested in texts dated to Sabium, Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ (Gautier, p. 15). The Sin-muballiṭ texts are: Gautier No. 18 (Sm 2), 19 (Sm 6), *TLB* 1 237 (Sm 7). Dr. Van Driel found his theory confirmed by the year name in de Genouillac, *PRAK* I Plate 10 B.72, mu ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ba-l*[*i*]-*i*[*t* ...] bàd *Sar-ba-*[*tum* ba.dù]; also in *PRAK* II Plate 13 C. 67.

6. *Synchronisms of Gungunum and kings of Isin*

The chronological framework of the Isin and Larsa dynasties as constructed by Ungnad, Kraus, Matouš, and Edzard, was principally based on the numbers of years assigned by the Sumerian King List to the kings of Isin, as well as on the figures assigned to the Larsa Dynasty by the school tablet *YOS* 1 32.

Edzard, *ZZB* 22-24, has convincingly shown that the figure "61" for Rīm-Sin's regnal years on this school tablet is wrong. The figure for Hammurabi is ambiguously written (Goetze, *JCS* 4, 1950, 100); the number of years given to Warad-Sin ("12") appears to be wrong in the light of our new date list. One wonders how many more mistakes were made by the clumsy sophomore who wrote *YOS* 1 32.

The only reliable date list is still the one published by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 15 (1918), named L_1 by Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 150ff. Unfortunately, column II of this list, covering Sumu-el 26 till Rīm-Sin 6, is destroyed.

If we accept the figures given for those earlier kings by *YOS* 1 32, we face some problems concerning the synchronisms Gungunum – Lipit-Ištar/Ur-Ninurta, studied by Kraus, *OLZ* 50, 1955, 521-2, and Edzard, *ZZB* 19-20.

Basing ourselves on the charts given above p. 14 and 27, we arrive at the synchronistic scheme given on p. 30. In relation to the kings of Larsa, those of Isin are to be dated one year earlier than did Kraus, *JCS* 3 26-27 (simply because Warad-Sin's reign lasted thirteen years, not twelve). For the kings of Isin, I accept the figures given by the "Sumerian King List": Būr-Sin reigned 21 years (not 22 as in *JCS* 8 135) and Erra-imitti reigned 7 years (not 8, as in one MS. of the "Sum. King List" and in *JCS* 8 135; see Kraus, *JCS* 3 15-16).

From *UET* 5 524:1-7, we learn that "king" Ur-Ninurta made a dedicatory gift to the temple of Ningal in Ur during the ninth year of Gungunum. The same happened again in Gungunum 13 (6-12). But Ur-Ninurta was not yet king of Isin during Gungunum 9, as the chart shows. It is very possible that Ur-Ninurta in line 4 was given the title "king" only afterwards in order to identify him with the present king of Isin. It is to be noted that around the sign lugal there are some erasures. Did the scribe first omit the title lugal and do the erasures show traces of what is now written in line 5? If we don't accept this solution, we are in grave difficulties and have to tamper with the figures given by *YOS* 1 32. For the time being, I prefer the explanation offered here.

The second problem, already studied by Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 21-22, Matouš, *ArOr* 20, 1952, 303-4, and Edzard, *ZZB* 20, concerns the high priestess (en) En-Ninsunzi. During the reign of Lipit-Ištar of Isin, an oracle proclaimed her as

Lipit-Ištar	2	1	Gungunum
	9	8	
	10	9	
Lipit-Ištar	11	10	
Ur-Ninurta	1	11	
	2	12	
	3	13	
	17	27	Gungunum
	18	1	Abi-sarē
Ur-Ninurta	28	11	Abi-sarē
Būr-Sin	1	1	Sumu-el
Zambiya	2	5	Sin-iqīšam

the future *entum* in Ur (Lipit-Ištar year name (*b*); cf. inscr. 4). Year name Gungunum 13 commemorates her inthronisation; this happened two years after the last year of Lipit-Ištar. An interval of three years between both solemn occasions is known for the nomination and inthronisation of the en of Šamaš (Gungunum 6 and 9; for an interval of two years in the Ur III period, see Kraus, *JCS* 3 21). Lipit-Ištar (*b*) is probably the last (11th) year of Lipit-Ištar, or one of the last years.

7. *Būr-Sin and Sumu-el*

The first year of Būr-Sin of Isin coincides with Sumu-el 1. Both years are attested in texts from Ur, even dated to the same month (VI): *UET* 5 447 (mu ^{d}*Bur*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal), 223, 545 (mu *Su-mu*-AN lugal(.e), see Walters, *RA* 67, 1973, 34).

These year names can be abbreviations of others belonging to these kings. No one, however, will feel happy about this explanation, which will remain unsatisfying as long as further textual evidence is not forthcoming. Within their systems, Kraus, *OLZ* 50, 1955, 522-3, and Edzard, *ZZB* 104, had to face similar problems.

The list given by Walters, *RA* 67, 1973, 37-8, shows that no texts dated to Sumu-el 17-21 were found in Ur; these years coincide with the last five years of Būr-Sin.

In Ur, three cylinder seals have been found of individuals who call themselves "servant of Būr-Sin" (Legrain, *UE* 10 445, 540, 528).

It is possible that the formula mu ^{d}*Bur*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal was provisionally adopted in Ur in the year after Būr-Sin had conquered the town; an analogous case has been discussed by Kraus in *JCS* 3, 1951, 40-41.

II. UNIDENTIFIED YEAR NAMES OF HAMMURABI

The year names of king Hammurabi[10] are fairly well known and have been listed by Ungnad in his classical article "Datenlisten", *RLA* 2, 1938, 178-182 under nos. 103-145; see also Barbara Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 36-41, 78, and *MCS* 4, 1956, 56. The latest translation of all year names was given by A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, 1955, 269-271.

In this study, I will draw attention to some unidentified, heretofore undiscussed, year names from the reign of Hammurabi. I will not succeed in establishing with certainty a chronological position for each of these year names. It may, nevertheless, prove worthwile, to present the material, which sheds some unexpected light on this king's campaigns in Northern Mesopotamia.

Before concentrating on that group, I would firstly like to give some additions to other year names of Hammurabi.

6 mu bára ^{d}nin.pirig
(Finkelstein, *RA* 67, 1973, 111-114).

8 The variant reading of list F is wrong; see my remarks in my study on Emutbalum, below p. 65f.

14 The complete year name is recorded in *PRAK* II Pl. 33 D. 14:

mu *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* lugal.e
giš.gu.za! (text LA) bára.maḫ.guškin.kù.babbar
na_4.nír.igi.na_4.nír.muš.gír
na_4.za.gìn.ta šu.du_7.a
še.[e]r.zi.gim gír.gír
^{d}inanna.k[á].dingir.ra^{ki}.ra

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[10] The evidence for the reading *-ra-pí* of the last element of this PN has been summarized by Borger, *ZA* 56, 1964, 289. With Kupper, *RA* 41, 1947, 155 note 1, Driver, *The Babylonian Laws* II, 1955, 117-118, von Soden, *OLZ* 53, 1958, 523 note 1, and *JNES* 33, 1974, 340 note 1, I cannot consider the arguments in favor of *-rapi* conclusive. I prefer *-rabi* as long as we find consistently *-ra-bi* in the texts from Southern Mesopotamia. Note the PNs *Al-la-ra-pi* in Ur (*UET* 5 28:1 and *UET* 8 75:6) and *A-bi-ra-pi* in Larsa (*VAS* 18 1:18).
I suspect that names like *Am-mi-ra-pi* (*Syria* 37, 1960, 206:32), etc. (Ḫana), and *'mrp'i* (Ugarit) are corruptions of *Ḫammu-rabi*. Compare *Ḫammi-ištamar* (OB) and *Ammištamru* (Ugarit); see Dietrich and Loretz, *OLZ* 61, 1960, 241-2.

[gi]š.gigir.a.ni til.til.e
mu.na.an.dím.ma

"Year : Hammurabi the king fashioned for Inanna of Babylon a throne, a lofty daise, perfected with gold, silver, eye-*ḫulālu*-stone, *muššaru*-stone, and lapis lazuli, flashing like rays, in order to accomplish her chariot".

Cf. giš.gigir nim.gim gír.gír.re "the chariot shines like lightning", in "Ishme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot", line 70 (Civil, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 5). A year name of Irdanene deals with a similar topic, *Baghd. Mitt.* 2, 1963, 10-11 No. 12.

30 Van Dijk, *AfO* 23, 1970, 65 with fn. 9.

32 The year name of *VAS* 9 41, cited by Ungnad, may be a variant of Samsuiluna year 10, such as that of *YOS* 12 315; see below p. 51.

34 Already listed by B. Morgan, *MCS* 4, 1954, 29 :

mu *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* lugal.e
an.^{d}inanna.ù.^{d}*na-na-a-a*.e.ne.bi.ta
šà.ul.ḫé.gim (?) × mu.un.sig$_7$.ga (?)
é.tùr.kalam.ma mu.un.gibil.a.bi

(Jean, *Tell Sifr* 35a; see also the copy by Strassmaier, *Verh. des 5. internat. Orientalisten-Congresses* I, 1881, Beilage, Warka Nr. 35).

39 Akkadian formula : mu *na-ap-ḫa-ar* kur *Šu-ba-ar-tum* (*VAS* 18 2).

40 Akkadian formula : mu *mi-iš-la-mi* (Goetze, *JCS* 11, 1957, 20 No. 6)[11].

For mu *a-ra-al-lum*, cited by Ungnad, see below p. 42 under (*i*).

41 mu *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* lugal [^{d}]*Taš-me-tum* inim.šag$_5$.šag$_5$ga.ni [g]uškin.ḫuš na$_4$.suḫ.a (*ARN* 72, cf. Kraus, *JCS* 3 10).

We will now concentrate on a number of year names which have the name of the city Burundum in common :

(a) Riftin No. 69:38ff.
mu *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* lugal
ma.da kur s[u]$^{!}$.bir$_x^{ki}$
é.gal-*la-tum*^{ki}
bu-ru-un-da^{ki}
ù ma.da *za-*[*a*]*m*$^{?}$*-la-áš*^{ki}
gú (or : zag$^{!}$)íd idigna

[11] Overlooked by Moran, *JCS* 26, 1974, 55ff., in his discussion of non-orthographical writings for é.mes.lam.

en.na íd [UD].KIB.NUN^{ki}
gú.ki.šè mi.ni.gar

"Year : Hammurabi subjugated [12]
the land of Šubartum, Ekallātum, Burunda, and the land of Zamlaš (?) on (or : from!) the Tigris up to the Euphrates".

(b) *CT* 48 74 rev. 7-8
mu é.gal-*la-tum*^{ki}
bu-ru-un-da

(c) *CT* 48 73 Case rev. 9
mu kilib [13] *bu-ru-da*^{ki}

(d) *CT* 48 73 Tablet
mu *Ab-ru-tu* (?) (Finkelstein, Catalogue p. 7 :
mu URUDU (?).NIM (??).*tu*).

(e) Friedrich, *BA* 5, 1906, 499 No. 25 (Si. 122)
m[u *Ḫa-am-m*]*u-ra-b*[*i* lugal]
bu-ru-un-da zag íd (?) [x] x x (x)
en (?).na (?) íd UB.KIB.NUN^{ki} [...]

Only the words "Burunda" and "Euphrates" are fairly certain.

We assume (as K. Butz, *WZKM* 65/66, 1973-74, p. 3 fn. 9, did) that (*a*) – (*e*) are variants of one and the same year name.

The city of Burundum is known from Old Assyrian texts and from tablets found in Mari. The last are the most informative, particularly letter B. 308 : [27] *ṭe*$_4$*-em E-lu-ḫu-ut*^{ki} lú *Lu-ul-le-*[*e*] [28] *Ḫa-aḫ-ḫi-im*^{ki} *ma-a-at Za-al-ma-*[*q*]*í-im* [29] *Bu-ru-un-di-im*$^{k[i]}$ *ù Ta-al-ḫa-ji-im*^{ki} (Finet, *RA* 60, 1966, 20). This text offers a geographical context for Burundum and asserts that the city belongs to the empire of Zimri-Lim of Mari (line 12).

Less informative is letter D.II (Jean, *Semitica* 1, 1948, 23) : dumu.meš *ši-ip-ri-šu a-bi iš-tu Bu-ru-un-di*^{ki} *ú-še-ṣ*[*i*] "my father made his messengers go out from Burundu".

In administrative lists from Mari, Burundu seems to be attested under the form Birundu(m) : *PN* lú *Bi-ru-un-di*^{ki} (*ARM* 7 212:10), *PN* lú *B*[*i*]*-ru-di-im*^{ki} (*ARM* 7 219:23; listed after men from Ekallātum and Ilanṣura).

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[12] gú.ki.šè.gar = *kanāšu*, *CAD* K s.v.

[13] Written like SI.SI, as in *TCL* 11 168:16, C.H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets* No. 55 u.e. *VAS* 17 43:5', *VAS* 18 103:3.

The evidence from the Old Assyrian texts has been discussed by Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, 1963, 93-94.

Saporetti, *Onomastica medio-assira*, 1970, I 104, interprets *Bu-ru-da-ja* in the MA text *KAJ* 101:10 as "della città Buru(n)du".

It is not easy to locate Burundum with any degree of precision; we await Finet's study on the geography of Northern Mesopotamia, announced in *Syria* 41, 1964, 118, for a full evaluation of the sources. Goetze, JCS 7, 1953, 68*b* (20), assumed "a position roughly in the region of present-day Gaziantep". M. Falkner, *AfO* 18, 1957-8, 7-8 with map on p. 21, thinks of some place on the upper reaches of the Ḫabur. However, Garelli, *op. cit.*, agrees with Goetze. Elaḫut is certainly to be sought east of the Euphrates (Falkner, p. 8-9) and Ḫaḫḫum was one of the first stations west of the Euphrates for west-bound travellers (Veenhof, *Old Assyrian Trade*, 1972, 129, 243). Our year name (*a*) seems to imply either a position east of the Euphrates, or on the Euphrates itself. The sequence of cities and nations in the Mari letter B. 308 is not very helpful, since it lists peoples surrounding the kingdom of Ibal-pī-El of Ašlakkā in an order which is not clear to me.

In year name (*a*), Šubartum, Ekallātum, Burundum and Zamlaš (?) are listed in the order East-West: "on (or: from!) the Tigris to the Euphrates". As Finkelstein, *JCS* 9, 1955, 4*b*, rightly observed, the first name, the "land of Šubartum", limits Šubartum to the East Tigris area according to the inscriptions and year names of Hammurabi [14].

Ekallātum was situated north of Assur, as the itinerary published by Hallo shows (*JCS* 18, 1964, 72 No. 31). It is impossible to ascertain the location of Zamlaš (?); in the light of the letter B. 308 (see above) and the year name of *VAS* 9 202 (see below, p. 39, under *g*) one is tempted to read ma.da *Za-[a]l-ma-qú*. However, the copies of Riftin are in general reliable. Furthermore, there are more GNs of the same structure as Zamlaš: Šadlaš, studied below p. 86 f., and perhaps Taḫlaš, embedded in the PNs *Ra-bi-Ta-aḫ-la-aš* and *Ki-in-Ta-aḫ-la-aš*, discussed by Goetze, *BASOR* 95, 1944, 22 ad 31 [15].

"Burundum" seems to represent here an independent political entity. The allegiance with Zimrilim (*RA* 60 17 ff.) which Adalšenni of Burundum sought may have been a desperate step to ward off the danger stemming from Babylon.

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[14] The latest comprehensive study on Šubartum was given by Römer, *WdO* 4, 1967, 15-20.

[15] The Kassite GNs ending in *-yaš* "land" (Balkan, *AOS* 37 221 No. 68), as in Karduniaš and Tupliaš, seem to be another matter. — Note also names like Urkiš, Kulmiš (cf. *kulmašītum* ?), Karkamiš, Tukriš (below) and Šikriš (Edzard, *AfO* 19 21-22).

We will first try to locate a correct position of this year name (*a*) – (*e*) among those of Hammurabi with the help of prosopography.

In this respect, only *CT* 48 73 and 74 (year names *b* – *e*) yield some results.

In *CT* 48 73, Warad-Sin is rented from *Erišti-Aya*, daughter of Nabi-ilišu. Exactly the same circumstances reoccur in *CT* 48 115 (Hamm. 28) and in *CT* 6 41a (Hamm. 27; read mu giš!.šu.nir!.maḫ.guškin; for giš.šu.nir, see Walther, *Gerichtswesen* p. 192 fn. 2). The man who rents Warad-Sin in these three texts is never the same.

Erišti-Aya appears in an unpublished text, BM. 82070. According to R. Harris, *JESHO* 13, 1970, 317 ad No. 73, it is dated Hamm. 14.

She leases out two fields *ana šiknim* "for planting" in *CT* 8 40b and *CT* 48 113. Both texts have another unknown year name of Hammurabi :

(f) mu èš.nun.na ba.UL

Does this mean "year when Eshnunna was embellished (ba.du$_7$)"? In that case, it falls somewhere after the destruction of Eshnunna by a flood in year 37 (year name 38). Can ba.UL stand for ba.gul?

Prof. Römer refers me to the Ur III PN Nam.tar.íb.ul (= Nam.tar.íb.gul?), see Falkenstein, NSGU 2 327 on No. 199 iv 3'; cf. Limet, *L'Anthroponymie sumérienne*, 1968, 78-79.

Mrs. Rivkah Harris kindly informed me that the Mišarum-nāṣir of *CT* 48 113:5 (cf. *CT* 8 40b:2 and *PBS* 8/2 246:2) occurs also in BM. 82137:3. Mr. C. B. F. Walker of the British Museum kindly allowed me to study and transliterate this text, which turns out to be part of the Erišti-Aya contracts on "planting". The new text is dated to Hamm. 42 [16].

Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Ipqātum (*CT* 48 73 rev. 6) might be identical with Amat-Šamaš, daughter of Ipiq-[Ad]ad in MAH. 16485:3 (Szlechter, *Tablettes ... Genève*, 1958, II 18); from Sippar; datedm[u giš.g]u.za ^{d}[inan]na = Hamm. 14 (Renger, *ZA* 58 166 : Hamm. 20). This woman is also attested in *VAS* 9 120:2-3 (Hamm. 35) and 206:3-4 (undated).

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[16] Transliteration of BM. 82137: [1] 50 SAR a.šà [2] ki NIN-*ti*-^{d}*A-a* [3] ^{pd}*Mi-ša-ru-um-na-ṣir* [4] dumu dumu-^{d}utu [5] a.šà *a-na ši-ik-nim* [6] *ú-še-ṣí* [7] 1 gán 4 še.gur gú a.šà (Lo.Edge) [8] *i-na* giš.bán ^{d}utu (Rev.) [9] *i-na* ká *ga-gi-im* [10] ì.ág.e [11] igi ^{d}utu igi ^{d}*A-a* [12] igi ^{d}*Ma-mu* [13] igi dingir-*šu-a-bu-šu* [14] it[u ...] x [15] [ ] sag.bi [16] [ ] x [17] [ka]r-^{d}utu [18] mu.u[n.dù.a]

On the left edge, in small script : *Mi-ša-rum-na-ṣir*.

The prosopography of *CT* 48 74 does not help very much. R. Harris, *JESHO* 13 317, points out that the Bēlessunu of line 4 occurs also in *CT* 8 37c:6 (no date; Hammurabi in the oath formula); cf. also Waterman, *BDHP* No. 9:2-3 (no date).

Bēlessunu, daughter of Annum-pīša, rev. 4, reappears probably in *BAP* 7:3 (Hamm. 39).

As to Friedrich, *BA* 5 499 No. 25 (year name *e*), I could find no other attestations for Namrum-šarur, son of Šamaš-ilum (11-12), or Ana-Šamaš-līṣî, son of Warad-Sin (13-14).

We have seen that Erišti-Aya is attested in a text dated to Hamm. 14 and that the text *CT* 48 73, bearing year names (*c*) and (*d*), closely belongs to two other texts, dated to Hamm. 27 and 28, all dealing with the rental of Warad-Sin. The texts dealing with the leasing of land "for planting" may fall into the last five years of Hammurabi's reign; one of them is dated Hamm. 42.
As to the unidentified year names of *CT* 48 73, we have to find an appropriate position, not too distant, chronologically, from Hamm. 27 and 28, which appear in the related texts. Moreover, it may be well to ask : which campaign to Northern Mesopotamia is summarized in this year name?

It would seem that the Šubartum campaigns, commemorated in year names 37 and 39, take us too far from the archive dealing with the rental of Warad-Sin. The other year names mentioning Šubartum are Hamm. 30, 32, and 33. According to year name 30, Hammurabi defeated a coalition of hostile nations East of the Tigris. Nothing is said concerning the nations to the North, which were still more or less subject to Zimri-Lim of Mari.

Year name 32 records Babylon's victory over the troops of Ešnunna, Šubartum, and the Gutians; Hammurabi subdued "the land of Mankisum and the land on the bank(s) of the Tigris, up to the land[17] of Šubartum". Again, the military activities occur in regions East of the Tigris. The countries along the Tigris who submitted to Hammurabi's rule are enumerated in the order South-North. They did certainly not include Burundum, Zalmaqum, etc.

We are left with **Hamm. 33**, the only candidate for the unidentified year names (*a*)–(*e*). The full text of this year name *seems* to be given by WB. 1923, 373 II:7 ff., Langdon, *OECT* 2, 1923, Plate V. Our unidentified year names, however, are not represented there.

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[17] The archive Birot, *TEBA* Nos. 1-11, and *TIM* 4 2 offer zag kur instead of ma.da (see already Boissier, *RA* 20, 1923, 1-2). For the connotations of zag, see E. I. Gordon, *JCS* 21, 1969, 72 fn. 9.

It may not be necessary to treat this impressively looking list of year names as authoritive and "canonical". Firstly, the text gives only a strange selection of year names, see Langdon p. 31. Secondly, one can show that a fuller form of year name 37 is known from another text: *TCL* 11 158 adds *Qú-tu-ú* (Kupper, *Nomades* 92 fn. 1).

The second half of year name 33 runs, in *OECT* 2 Plate V col. II:10ff., as follows: ugnim ma.rí^{ki} ù ma.a[l.gá^{ki} (?)] mè! (text AG).ta bí.íb.šub.bé ma.rí^{ki} ù á.da[m].b[i (?)x (x)] ù uru.didli.ki su.bir$_x^{ki}$ dug$_4$.ga.né ku.li.bi bí.in.t[uš].ẹ.nẹ.[a] (?) "he smote the troops of Mari and Ma[lgium] in the battle; Mari and its villages and the various cities of Šubartum submitted peacefully (?)[18] to his rule".

The sudden jump from Mari and Malgium to Šubartum in the North East is surprising. My suggestion is that our scribe abbreviated a long formula such as that of year name (*a*), Riftin 69:38-44, to simple ù uru.didli.ki su.bir$_x^{ki}$. I will elaborate on this point further on, after a few remarks on the other year names of Hammurabi that mention Šubartum.

The events recorded in year name 37 took place East of the Tigris. Just like the Gutians, Kakmum is to be sought in this area. This city is associated with Ekallātum in *AbBr* 2 46 and *ARM* 6 79 (Kupper, *Nomades* 191), and with Arrapḫa (= Kerkuk) in Ungnad, *AbBrPh* no. 134 (= *OLZ* 1915 col. 169ff.). See also Laessøe, *People of Ancient Assyria*, 1963, 148, commenting on SH. 809:13 (= Laessøe, *Det første Assyriske Imperium*, 1966, 86; ref. Prof. Veenhof): "Presumably, its site lies in the mountains east of the Rania plain".

A few variants of year name 39 inform us that Hammurabi defeated all the enemies "up to Šubartum" (kur su.bir$_x^{ki}$.šè, *TCL* 11 168 and *RA* 15, 1918, 57 iv 59); most versions have "the Subarians" ((kur) su.bir$_x^{ki}$.(ke$_4$).ne, *TCL* 11 169-171, Jean, *Tell Sifr* 48, *BE* 6/2 73-74, *PBS* 8/2 119).

We have stated above that it is difficult because of prosopographical reasons to consider Hamm. 37 and 39 as candidates for our unidentified year names. We might now add that Hamm. 37 is certainly concerned with enemies East of the Tigris. The same may obtain for Hamm. 39.

It is rather striking that in year names (*a*)–(*e*) important cities like Assur and Nineveh are not mentioned. We do know, from the prologue of the Hammurabi

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[18] ku.li.bi not in Wilcke, ZA 59, 1969, 65ff., but note p. 71 (6.2.5 "Herrscher und Untertan") and p. 97 (11.1 "in der Regel wird der sozial niedriger stehende ku.li des sozial höher stehenden genannt").

Code, that these cities were at one point dependent on Hammurabi (CH obv. IV : 55-63). Now, in the oldest version of the CH three passages in the prologue are lacking (Borger, *BAL* II, 1963, 6-7; Ex. A) and the third passage contains the reference to Nineveh. Nougayrol, the first editor of Ex. A (= AO 10237), concluded, with sound reasons, that the final edition of CH (as on the Louvre stela) should be dated after Hammurabi's 38th year : the other two passages lacking in Ex. A, on Malgium and Eshnunna, refer to the events recorded in year names 35 and 38. "On pourrait conclure de ces rapprochements que l''édition' de la Stèle est postérieure à cette année 38, et celle dont AO 10237 nous apporte le premier témoignage, antérieure à 34" (*RA* 45, 1951, 71). The 32nd year of Hammurabi's reign is the *terminus post quem* for Ex. A, which already extols Hammurabi's merciful treatment of the people of Mari and Tuttul (IV:29-31). We know from the Mari texts that Mari was conquered by the Babylonian king in his 32nd year (Thureau-Dangin, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 1939, 119-120). Because of all this Nougayrol is inclined to date Ex. A in the 33rd year of Hammurabi.

Already in Ex. A the king claims to be *mutēr lamassišu ana ālim Aššur* "who restored its *lamassum* to the city of Assur". Nineveh is mentioned only in the final edition of the Code, sometime after Hamm. 38.

In a letter (*terminus post quem* : the conquest of Larsa), *AbBr* 2 23, Hammurabi writes concerning soldiers of the royal army "who moved into this direction from Assur and Šitullum" (*ša ištu Aššur*^{ki} *u Šitullum ipṭu[r]ūn[imma]*). Šitullum is a city between Mankisum and Assur, Mankisum being "close to the confluence of Diyala and Tigris" (Goetze, *JCS* 18, 1964, 114-5); see also Kraus, *Edikt*, 1958, 80-81. In the Mari letters *ARM* 2 25 and *ARM* 6 27, this town does not yet belong to Hammurabi's realm. Here Šitullum is in danger of being besieged by the troops of Eshunna, while Hammurabi is in Sippar and Malgium. Kupper, *RA* 42, 1948, 51, dates this correspondence to the beginning of Hamm. 29.

During the decisive years 29-32 Assur and Šitullum must have fallen to Hammurabi. We cannot prove that this had happened in Hamm. 32 and that these GNs (among others) have been subsumed under the concept "Šubartum" in year name (*a*).

After having defeated Zimrilim of Mari, the "king of the Northern land" (*šar mātim elītim*, Dossin, *Syria* 19, 1938, 122-3), Hammurabi did not hesitate and pushed on, deep into Northern Mesopotamia. There is another unknown year name which I would like to connect with this daring military expedition :

(g) mu ma.da *Za-al-ma-qum*, *VAS* 9 202.

We have seen that in the Mari letter B. 308 *māt Zalmaqim* preceded Burundum and we have considered a reading ma.da *Za-[a]l-ma-qú* (?) in Riftin 69:42 (year name *a*).

Prosopography of *VAS* 9 202: the burgomaster Apil-ilišu (10) is unknown, but cf. *A-pil-*dingir *ra-bi-a-an x x (x)* in *CT* 47 49:30 (Hamm.); the "daughter of the king" (19) could be princess Iltani, daughter of Sin-muballiṭ (R. Harris, *JCS* 16, 1962, 6), who is attested in texts between Hamm. 17 (*VAS* 9 4) and Hamm. 38 (*VAS* 9 59/60). Ḫuzzulum, son of Ili-tappē (12), appears in *VAS* 9 50:5-6 (Hamm. 33!) and Warad-Marduk, son of Iddin-Sin (13), may be identical with the Warad-Marduk who was burgomaster in Hamm. 38 (*VAS* 9 62:11 with seal inscription). In this same *VAS* 9 62 we find the Masqum, son of Sinnātum (6), of *VAS* 9 202:5. For this Masqum, Mrs. Rivkah Harris referred me to *VAS* 9 180:15, with the year name

(h) mu UN (?) . NE,

which I cannot read nor explain [19].

The victory over Mari and Malgium seems to have been an easy one; we see, already at the end of the seventh month of Hamm. 32, his men busily rearranging the royal archives of Mari (*Symb. Koschaker* 120) in a palace apparently not destroyed by war-like activities. Indeed, the population had "amiably" (ku.li.bi "amicalement", Nougayrol, *RA* 45, 1951, 71; cf. my fn. 18) complied with the Babylonian rule. This gave Hammurabi the time and the opportunity to move on.

The prologue of CH shows that Hammurabi's campaign resulted in a lasting hold on the Euphrates area, up to Tuttul (for the location, see Goetze, *JCS* 18, 1964, 118-119, and Dossin, *RA* 68, 1974, 33: "dans l'angle formé par l'Euphrate et le Balīḫ").

J. D. Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, 1973, 299-301, views the OB itinerary "The Road to Emar" (Goetze, *JCS* 7, 1953, 51-72, and Hallo, *JCS* 18, 1964, 57-88) as the description [20] of the route followed by an expeditionary force, despatched by

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[19] A reading mu.un.gibil would bring us to Hamm. 34, see above p. 33.

[20] A few remarks on some problems in this text:

a. Read in YBC 4499:4 *iš-tu* uru.ki *A-ḫu-um-ma*; the KI may be compared with DI (2) and KI (Lo. Edge 21) on the photographs, *JCS* 18 58. This form of KI is not uncommon in OB Larsa texts. For uru.ki *Aḫumma*, cf. *YOS* 5 106:8, 10. Without resorting to an emendation, I cannot explain the subjunctive in line 5: read <*iš-tu*> at the beginning of line 5. Translation of 4-5: "From Aḫumma; <after> we had departed from Dūr-Apilsin, (the route was as follows:)".

b. The same form of KI appears in lines rev. 32 and 44: uru.ki kaskal and *I-ma-ar*^{ki} (Hallo, p. 77 §47, and p. 81 §62, read ŠÀ).

c. For BA.AḪ.RA, YBC 4499:42, see lastly Hallo, *ANES* 5, 1973, 169, We now know of a PN *Ba-aḫ-ra*, the name of a Subaraean (*VAS* 18 3:12). Could *a-ša-ar Ba-aḫ-ra i-si-ḫu* mean "where Baḫra revolts"? In that case, however, a permansive form would be much better.

d. For *Ṣe-er-di* [sic] and its location (YBC 4499:36), see Dossin, *RA* 68, 1974, 27 and 34.

Hammurabi, preparatory to his conquest of Mari. This attractive theory was obviously inspired by Hallo, *JCS* 18 86, who had suggested that "the motive for the mission [was] the assertion of Babylonian control over an alternate route to Aleppo and the West (and to Anatolia) in face of a blockade of the Euphrates by an independent Mari". The text can be dated to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna (Hallo, p. 88, Addenda; note the Larsa text *TCL* 11 178 rev. 2 for zag - en.na).

The "road to Emar" does not seem to reflect the route taken by the Babylonian army during the Northern campaign of Hammurabi recorded in year names (*a*)–(*e*); these year names and the itinerary have only Ekallātum in common.

We can safely assume that Išme-Dagan, king of Assyria, withdrew to the North-East while Hammurabi was campaigning between Euphrates and Tigris. Later on, even Nineveh fell, and Šubartum as a whole was defeated in the 38th year of Hammurabi.

The fragmentary stela *UET* 1 146+ (Borger, *HKL* I 143) records the conquests of Hammurabi in the mountainous[21] North-East (col. III) and mentions Tukriš, once tributary to Šamši-Adad (*KAH* 1 No. 2 IV: 5-6 : *bilat šarrānī ša Tukriš*^{ki} *ù mātim elītim*; see *IAK* p. 24). Tukriš is a mountainous area East of the Tigris, possibly Luristan (Bottéro, *ARMT* 7 p. 312 fn. 1), known for its minerals, metalwork (Bottéro), garments (Aro, *Kleidertexte*, 1970, p. 11), and pistachio trees (Speleers, *Catalogue des Intailles et Empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, 1917, No. 571b, on p. 180, 84, and 87)[22]. Aro, *op. cit.*, points out that Tukriš occurs in the Sumerian myth "Enki and Ninḫursag", *UET* 6/1 1 II:1-2: kur *Tu-u*[*k*]-*ri-iš*^{ki} guškin *Ḫa-ra-li* [^{ki}] na$_4$.za.gìn [x x] x ga ḫu.mu.ra.bal.-bal.[e], "may the land Tukrish (transport to you) gold, may Ḫarali transport to you lapis lazuli (and) ...". Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 1963, 279, translates "gold [from] Harali", which implies *Ḫa-ra-li*.[ta], and this is the better restoration of the text[23].

The half-mythical land of gold (Ḫ)arallu is known from other texts; see for the evidence from Sumerian texts Van Dijk, *Acta Orientalia* 28, 1964, 27 fn. 67a and

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[21] Cf. [*ḫur*]-*ša-ni se-bé-tam* "seven mountains", *UET* 1 146 IV:14, with Poebel apud Gelb, *Alishar* (= *OIP* 27) p. 60 fn. 3.

[22] The text on this object runs: *ze-ru-um ša bu-ṭù-um-tum ša Tu-uk-ri-i*[*š*] *ša ki-ma sa*(?)-*wi-i-im* "fruit of the pistachio of Tukriš, which (looks ?) like a ...". This interesting text has apparently not been parsed by both Dictionaries.

[23] Tukriš as a source of lapis lazuli: not incorporated by Oppenheim, *Glass and Glassmaking in Ancient Mesopotamia*, 1970, 9 ff., or Muhly, *Copper and Tin*, 1973, 317 ff.

M. Cohen, *WdO* 8, 1975, 28:136-7; for the Akkadian contexts see simply *CAD* A/2 227*a*, *e*, and *MSL* 11, 1974, 23:22[24]. [*Acta Orient. Hung.* 26, 1972, 113ff.]

The *CAD* is certainly right in connecting one more unknown year name with this gold land :

(i) mu *A-ra-al-lum*, *VAS* 9 154.

Ungnad, *RLA* 2 181*b* [142], suggests that this year name could be the Akkadian formula of Hamm. 40. However, the Akkadian formula is mu *Mi-iš-la-mi*, see above p. 33.

The name of Hammurabi occurs in the oath formula of *VAS* 9 154; prosopographical investigations did not yield any results.

In the light of the evidence adduced above it seems reasonable to place this year name late in the reign of Hammurabi : it is not probable that he ventured out so far to the North-East during the campaign of his 32nd year (year name 33). Year 36 (year name 37), when he battled against the Gutians, Turukkaeans, Kakmum, and Šubartum, is a good candidate, as is, of course, year 38 : the formula Hamm. 39 talks about the smashing of "entire Šubartum".

Year name 37 is the best candidate, because it lists concrete geographical names, among which Arallum may have had a place.

New texts, notably the *tamītu*-texts to be published by W.G. Lambert, will shed more light on these as yet largely unknown campaigns of Hammurabi. They may, furthermore, indicate whether or not Römer was correct in considering *CT* 15 1-2 as a song of war composed for the campaign to Šubartum (*WdO* 4, 1967, 20).

Here follow some more year names which should be assigned to Hammurabi because his name is mentioned in the oath formula :

(j) mu kur.ra x x mu.na.dím, *VAS* 13 32.
The signs x x look like íd.

(k) mu ^{d}iškur! sag.dingir.re, *CT* 48 12, cf. Hamm. 20, 28. Hardly mu alam! ^{d}inanna!.

(l) mu *um du um* (?), *CT* 4 46b.

(m) mu ús.sa [...] alam.nam (?).[....], *CT* 8 37 a.

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[24] a.šà saḫar *A-ra-li* in *UET* 5 118:11, 21 is hardly a reminiscence of this Gold Land. Cf. a.šà *A-ra-al-la*, *YOS* 5 201:2. There was a god *A-ra-li*, see *BIN* 7 189:3, 193:1 (from Isin); see Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 60 (2.) and 86 (6.1).

(n) mu š[à].èš.ḫuš.šè alam in.ku$_4$.ra (readings highly questionable), *CT* 8 35a.

The Bēlessunu, daughter of Ikūn-pī-Sin, of this text (6-7) is also attested in texts dated to Samsu-iluna, mainly during his first ten years (R. Harris, *JCS* 16, 1962, 4, and *OR* NS 38, 1969, 137).

The year name of *CT* 2 9 (a carelessly written text) may be Hamm. 17; in *CT* 2 14:32 I am inclined to read mu uru *ra-pí$^{!}$-kum$^{!}$* (Hamm. 11).

III. RĪM-SIN II

In his thirtieth year Hammurabi defeated Rīm-Sin I, king of Larsa. He thus conquered the southern part of Mesopotamia, a region which included important cities such as Ur and Uruk. The South remained under Babylon's firm control during the last thirteen years of Hammurabi and during Samsu-iluna's first eight regnal years. Then, however, a usurper, who called himself Rīm-Sin, led a revolt, and the whole of the South defected. This Rīm-Sin remained in power at his capital, Larsa, for at least one year before Samsu-iluna of Babylon defeated or killed him.

A. Ungnad was the first to discover the existence of this Rīm-Sin II. The previous literature and points of view have been discussed recently by Dorothy L. Ormsby, "An Old Babylonian Business Archive of Historical Interest", *JCS* 24, 1972, 89-92. She did not, however, know of W. F. Leemans' article "Tablets from Bad-Tibira and Samsu-iluna's reconquest of the South", *JEOL* 15, 1957-1958, 214-218.

With the help of dated documents and other sources, I will try to establish the beginning, length, and end of this intermediate period in Samsu-iluna's reign by attempting to fit the reign of Rīm-Sin II into the chronology of the First Dynasty of Babylon.

1. *The ninth year of Samsu-iluna*

During the ninth year of Samsu-iluna, Rīm-Sin II controlled the South. As a matter of fact, no text found there has been dated to the ninth year of Samsu-iluna.

The year name Samsu-iluna 9 records Samsu-iluna's victory over the Kassites (cp. the elaborate formula in *CT* 47 62a). With Ungnad, *RLA* 2 132*b* and Çiğ-Kızılyay, *Belleten* 26, 1962, 38, we should assume that the defeat of the Kassites took place in that ninth year and not, as is common in year names, in the preceding year. It is striking indeed that the ninth year is often called mu.ús.sa <8>; see *BE* 6/1 57(8.II), *TCL* 1 128 (7.IV), *CT* 48 28 (10.VI). *CT* 45 33, however, has on 10.II already mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e ugnim *ka-aš-šu-ú*. This is an enveloppe; the tablet belonging to this enveloppe is *CT* 2 5, which is dated in the same year 9, but on 26.VII. The theory that *CT* 45 33 has been antedated by the ancient scribe imposes itself. The related text *JCS* 11, 1957, 22 CUA 43 is in fact also dated on 26.VII of the "Kassites-year". The only other

occurrences of a different date on tablet and envelope known to me are *VAS* 9 142 (—.VIII), 143 (27.VII), perhaps "ein Versehen" (A. Walther, *Gerichtswesen* p. 248 fn. 1); and *VAS* 18 8 (22.VI and 22.VIII)[25]. Why was *CT* 45 33 antedated? An oral agreement had perhaps already been made in the second month of the year, which was then followed by the written contract. The reason could be sought in the *kirbānum*-clause; see K. R. Veenhof, *Symbolae ... F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl*, 1973, 364ff. Could the real dimensions of the field only be established when the river was low? The only other texts with the *kirbānum* clause, dated to a month, *CT* 47 24 (XI; a litigation) and 69 (see Kümmel, *OLZ* 65, 1970, 147 fn. 4), do not shed light on this problem. In any case, the *kirbānum*-clause might in a way be responsible for the uncertainty or impossibility of assigning one date to these contracts.

It is interesting that the last year name on the Date List Si. 16 (= King, *CCEBK* II, 1907, 193; Ungnad, *RLA* 2 169 Liste C) is Samsu-iluna 9, but the wording is mu.us.sá <8>. Was this list written sometime during the first half of this year Samsu-iluna 9? See already Ungnad, *BA* VI/3, 1907, p. 6-7 note 4, end.

Conclusion: if, for the reasons given above, one does not take the dating of *CT* 45 33 seriously, one might conclude that the defeat of the Kassites took place possibly after 10.VI and certainly before 26.VII of Samsu-iluna year 9.

We learn from this year name and from Rīm-Sin (*b*) (see below p. 54) that the Kassites were opposed by both Samsu-iluna and Rīm-Sin II, possibly during the same year.

2. *Two archives*

The archive published by Riftin, *Starovavilonskie jurid. i admin. dokumenty* (1937) nos. 70-83 contains a number of receipts, dated in months VI-XI and mentions mostly the same persons. We assume, therefore, that these texts date from the second half of one and the same year. We give the texts in chronological order:

Text no.	Day and month	King in year name
78	15.VI	—
70	20.VI	Samsu-iluna
71	23.VI	Samsu-iluna
72	—.VI	Samsu-iluna
73	1.VII	Samsu-iluna

[25] The difference between Jean, *Tell Sifr* 45 (—.VIII Hamm. 37) and 45a (—.VIII Hamm. 38) (= Strassmaier, *Warka* no. 41) baffles me; did the scribe erroneously omit ús.sa after mu Ḫ. lugal in no. 45?

Text no.	Day and month	King in year name
79	10.VII	—
74	1.VIII	Rīm-Sin
80	15.VIII	—
81	25.VIII	—
75	1.IX	Rīm-Sin
82	5.IX	—
76	1.X	Rīm-Sin
77	1.X	Rīm-Sin
83	1.XI	—

The Samsu-iluna year names have the short formula mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* (lugal); the Rīm-Sin year names mu $^{(d)}$*ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU (lugal).

So the transition from Samsu-iluna to Rīm-Sin II falls in the seventh month. Several texts from different towns in southern Babylonia indicate that this month belongs to the eighth year of Samsu-iluna (see Appendix A).

A second small archive, from Ur, has been published by Dorothy L. Ormsby in *JCS* 24, 1972, 89-99. Here are the texts, arranged chronologically:

Text no.	Day and month	Year	Seal
12	[ ].I	Si 6	1
8	6.I?	Si 6	1
10	20.IV	Si 7	1
17	25.VIII	Si 7	1
19	[ ].IX	Si 7	1
16	22.X	Si 7	1
4	6.XI	Si 7	1
1	27.XII	Si 7	1
13	5.II?	Si 8	1
5	10.IV	Si 8	1
22	[ ].V	Si 8	—
20	7.VII	Si 8	1
2	[ ].VIII?	Si 8	1
11	28.IX	Si 8	3
3	15.III?	Rīm-Sin	—
9	26.III	Rīm-Sin	2
15	[ ].IV?	Rīm-Sin	—
18	10.IV	R[īm-Sin]	—
6	20^{+}.III	Rīm-Sin (*a*)	—
21	27.III?	Rīm-Sin (*a*)	2

For the seal inscriptions, see *JCS* 24, 1972, 99.
Rīm-Sin (*a*) stands for Rīm-Sin II, year name (*a*), see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 164*a*.

Unplaceable : Text 14 (10.IX; no year name; Seal 1), Text 7 (15.XI$^{?}$; Si 6 according to Miss Ormsby; no Seal).

Text 23 does not seem to belong to this archive, although a Sin-uselli occurs also in Text 2:4 (against Ormsby, p. 98*b*). Date : 3.VIII Rim-Sin (*a*); Seal 4.

The picture arising from this Ur archive is not identical with that of the Riftin archive and of other texts from the South. The picture is, however, as could be expected, in line with *UET* 4 448 (from Ur), dated 13.XI$^{?}$ Samsu-iluna 8. Thus, Ur remained under Samsu-iluna's control untill at least 28.IX (Ormsby no. 11), possibly even 13.XI$^{?}$ of Samsu-iluna's eighth regnal year.

One might ask whether the formula mu ^{d}*Rīm-Sin* lugal.e in this archive can be a variant of Rīm-Sin (*a*), or not. The shortening of a year name to such an abridged form is well-known, especially in small texts of ephemeral importance (Finkelstein, *JCS* 13, 1959, 40 note 11). In considering the year name mu ^{d}*Rīm-Sin* lugal.e, we face two possibilities : *1.* it is an abridged form of the year name of the first full regnal year of Rīm-Sin II; *2.* the text dates from Samsu-iluna's eighth year, after the take-over by Rīm-Sin. By means of *UET* 5 536:11-15 the identity of this formula with Rim-Sin (*a*) can be proved. In our archive Seal impression 2 occurs on two texts, dated 26.III mu *Rīm-Sin* lugal.e (no. 9), and 27.III$^{?}$ Rīm-Sin (*a*) (no. 21). Are these subsequent days? Note that seal impr. 2 here can be identical with seal impr. 2 of *UET* 5 536, dated 10.III Rīm-Sin (*a*).

On this basis we may suppose that the formula mu *Rīm-Sin* lugal.e in the Ormsby archive (called "Rīm-Sin" in the third column) could be the abridged form of the year name Rīm-Sin (*a*).

3. *Evidence from other texts*

Texts from Kutalla (modern Tell Sifr; formerly thought to originate from "Warka") and other texts of unknown provenience confirm the sequence suggested by the archive Riftin nos. 70-83 : in the seventh month of Samsu-iluna year 8, Rīm-Sin II conquered large parts of southern Babylonia. In *YOS* 12, twenty texts are dated to Samsu-iluna 8. Nineteen of them are distributed over months I-VI; the latest of these texts is dated 24.VI (*YOS* 12 306). The twentieth text, *YOS* 12 313, is dated 1.XII. I cannot reconcile this with the evidence from all the other texts studied above.

Rīm-Sin II most probably started his campaign from Larsa, where he was king (Samsu-iluna Bil. Inscr. C lines 106-107 = Sollberger-Kupper, *IRSA* 225 IV C

7d. King, *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* II p. 123 lines 13-19 does not mention Larsa, but the context is broken). The last Larsa text dated to Samsu-iluna's reign has the date 20.XII Samsu-iluna 7 (*TCL* 11 215). Thus, Rīm-Sin led a revolt in Samsu-iluna's eighth year and became master of the South at the end of this year. His first year name, used during Samsu-iluna 9 and following the year of his conquests, is Rīm-Sin year (*b*). This is proved by the chronological distribution of all non-Larsa texts. This year name celebrates his inthronisation and his subjugation (?) of inimical Kassites (see below p. 54. All this had happened during Samsu-iluna year 8. If it is true that Samsu-iluna's victory over the Kassites took place during the first half of his ninth year (see above), then the second half of this year and the first half of his tenth year are left for his conquest of "Emutbal and Idamaraṣ, Uruk and Isin" (Year name 10; see below p. 50).

4. *Intercalary months and the calendar*

Samsu-iluna intercalated in his eighth year a second Elul. This is clear from Jean, *Tell Sifr* no. 80 (itu.VI.2.kam.ma) and possibly from *UET* 5 869:4 (id.; this text is undated, but belongs to an archive of the time of Rīm-Sin II and Samsu-iluna: *UET* 5 866-871). At the end of his ninth year, Samsu-iluna added an intercalary Adar (*CT* 47 62). See Appendix B.

This may have two (mutually excluding) consequences for the chronological framework of these years:

A. Were one to suppose that Rīm-Sin II came to power in Larsa before month VI*b* of Samsu-iluna year 8, it would be improbable that he accepted and followed Samsu-iluna's intercalary month(s). In that case the calendars of both kings diverged as follows:

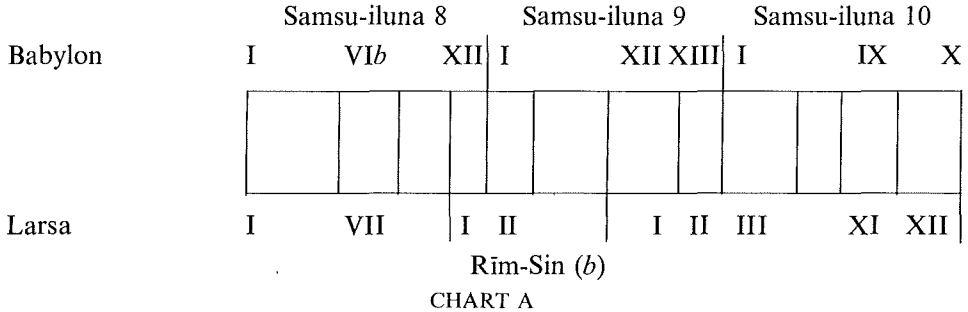

CHART A

From the Riftin Archive, we may infer that during the last months of Samsu-iluna 8, Rīm-Sin did not interfere in the calendar of the newly conquered regions.

The beginning of his own year, Rim-Sin (*b*), would be a good opportunity to create one uniform calendar in his kingdom. The only method of correcting the calendar in the regions conquered after Samsu-iluna 8, month VI, is to drop one month in order to make good the absence of an intercalary month in Rīm-Sin's own Larsa calendar. The first month (Nisan) of Rim-Sin year (*b*) would be most appropriate for such a deletion. By omitting this month, the other calendar neatly dovetailed with that of Larsa.

In fact, no text has been dated to the first month of year (*b*). From this perspective, *YOS* 5 226 becomes an interesting text. This tablet is inscribed with nothing more than the formula of year (*b*) and the date 10.II. One gets the impression that this tablet was meant to inform the reader about the new year name. This type of text is mostly not dated by day and month. Examples known to me are: *UET* 5 872; IV *R* 35 no. 8; *TIM* 7 234; LB 800 (= Peiser, *OLZ* 13, 1910, 194); *VAT* 670 (= Ungnad, *BA* VI/3 47); *YOS* 5 220; de Genouillac, *PRAK* II Pl. 33 D. 14; Pinches, *PEFQS* 32, 1900, 273; *YOS* 13 407.

VAT 1200 (= Messerschmidt, *OLZ* 8, 1905, 269-270), however, proclaims that the name given to the new year should be used right from the start of the year (Samsu-ditana 7). It is possible that our *YOS* 5 226 indicates that the beginning of year (*b*) coincided with the start of the second month. This would be in line with my speculations. There are, however, three difficulties: firstly, the tablet seems to originate from Larsa itself (Senkereh)[26]. The argument would have been more compelling if the text had come from one of Rīm-Sin's newly conquered cities. Secondly, the text records the tenth day of Ayyar, not the first. One could try to explain this by pointing out that during these years, Samsu-iluna's calendar was in grave disorder (see Appendix B), and by supposing that Rīm-Sin found the opportunity to fix a 10.II not earlier than ten days after the latest New Moon[27]. Thirdly, and most important: similar *dated* texts are *YOS* 5 215 (30.VII), 225 (15.I), 229 (—.XII), 230 (—.VIII), 247 ([*x*].VIII), 248 (*x*.IV). The month and day given on such texts do not show a distinct pattern and are, apparently, not meaningful to our purpose. This makes any speculation on *YOS* 5 226 futile, it seems.

— Another theoretical possibility is that XII Samsu-iluna 8 was replaced by I (Nisan) Rīm-Sin (*b*). The absence of documents dated to that month I would be, in this case, purely accidental.

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[26] The other text in *YOS* 5, dated to Rim-Sin II, was probably not written in Larsa: no. 227, see below p. 51 f. (lines 11-14, "from Larsa ... let bring here").

[27] Or could this ten days period elucidate in some way the discussions about the "premier Nisan moyen", nine days after the vernal equinox (Schoch)? See Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 24 (1927) 187-8, 195-6; Neugebauer, *JAOS* 61 (1941) 58-61.

B. If one were to suppose that Rīm-Sin II gained control of Larsa only after the month VI*b* of Samsu-iluna 8, then this would mean that Rīm-Sin, after having taken possession of Larsa, started his campaign in the whole South without any delay and met with quick success. This resulting chronological chart would follow:

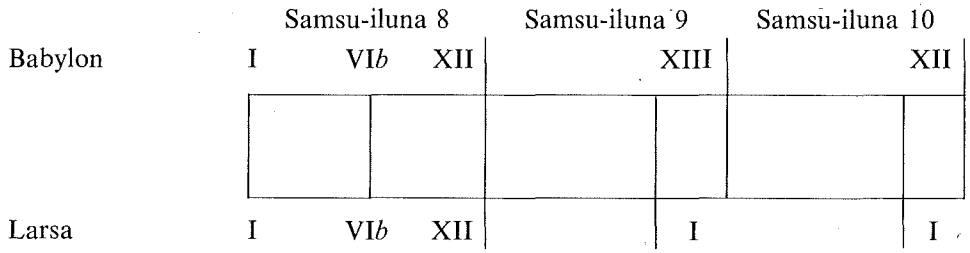

CHART B

New texts will probably reveal which one of these alternatives, A or B, is right. There might even be other unexpected possibilities.

Three texts which do *not* originate from Ur (see p. 47) have the abridged year name mu *RS* lugal.e. These texts are: *VAS* 13 58 (3.VI; Lagash ?); *TCL* 1 233 (10.V; Lagash); *YOS* 8 55 (10.VII; Larsa). It is difficult to see why year name RS (*b*) should have been abridged to this formula in these texts. It is easiest to assume that they were written during and dated to the eighth year of Samsu-iluna, shortly after the accession of Rīm-Sin II. This would favor alternative A.

5. *The defeat of Rīm-Sin II*

During the whole year Samsu-iluna 9 the South was under Rīm-Sin's control. On 20.II Samsu-iluna 10 we see in Larsa a text dated to Samsu-iluna's reign (*TCL* 11 219). Other texts from the South are dated to his reign only after the eighth month of this year 10. Apparently Samsu-iluna first attacked Larsa before reconquering the rest of the kingdom of Rīm-Sin.

The year name *Samsu-iluna* **10** existed already on 20.II of this year (*TCL* 11 219); its wording is as follows:

mu *Samsu-iluna* lugal.e usu.maḫ.^{d}marduk.ka.ta ugnim lú *idamaraṣ*^{ki} *iamutbalum*^{ki} unu^{ki} ì.si.na^{ki} giš.gaz bí.in.ag.ga,

"Year: Samsu-iluna in the mighty power of Marduk crashed the troops of Idamaraṣ, Yamutbalum, Uruk and Isin". For this formula, see lastly B. Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 61 and A. Goetze, *JCS* 18, 1964, 103 2N-T 771.

Notes: The year name of *OECT* 8 16 is unclear to me. *UET* 5 202 and *YOS* 12 320 have *a-da-ma-ra-aṣ* in stead of *i-da-ma-ra-aṣ*, cf. *e-da-ma-ra-aṣ*^{ki}, 3 NT 880. These variants should

be added to *ia-da-ma-ra-aṣ*^{ki}, discussed by H. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts*, 1965, 76; see already Goetze, *JSS* 4, 1959, 200 fn. 3.

In *YOS* 12 315 (*YBC* 4345) the year name Samsu-iluna 10 is phrased as follows: mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e uru.ki èš.nu.na (sic) ù *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum* in.dib. The scribe apparently tried to summarize the main events of the year name in his own words; Eshnunna is here considered the most important town of Idamaraṣ. — It is possible that *VAS* 9 41 offers a similar variant of this year name: mu [u]gnim èš.nun.na^{ki} *j[a]-mu-ut-ba-lum*$^{k[i]}$ (listed by Ungnad, *RLA* 2 180 [134] under Hamm. 32).

We may perhaps deduce from this formula that Samsu-iluna conquered first of all the regions to the North-East and the central part of Rīm-Sins territory. Larsa itself is not mentioned, because "Yamutbalum" includes Larsa, as I hope to prove in Chapter V.

The last text from Larsa, dated to Rīm-Sin II, is Pinches, *PSBA* 39, 1917, Plate VIII no. 21 (26.XII Rīm-Sin year *b*):

(1) 1 gur zíd.da (2) *a-na* erén.ḫi.a lú unu^{ki} (3) *ša it-ti šu-r[i-t]a-a-ak* (so?) (4) PA MAR.TU [un]u^{ki} (5) *a-na* larsam^{ki} (6) *il-li-ku-nim* (7) zi.ga (8) níg.šu *dam-qí–ì-lí-šu* ka.gur$_7$ (9) gìr ^{d}EN.ZU–*mu-uš*$^{!}$*-ta-al* (10) *ša-pí-ir* larsam^{ki} (11) ù di.kud.meš

Date. Seals (Plate IX):

1. *i-bi-*^{d}EN.ZU dumu ^{d}EN.ZU–*be-el–x*[ ] ìr ^{d}*ri-im-*^{d}EN.ZU 2. ^{d}EN.ZU–*mu-uš-ta-al* dumu ^{d}EN.ZU–*ma-gir* ìr ^{d}*ri-im-*^{d}EN.ZU 3. *li-pí-it–*^{d}[ ] dumu ^{d}utu-dingir$^{?}$ ìr ^{d}*ri-im-*[^{d}EN.ZU]

"One *gur* of flour for the troops, the Urukeans, who have come here, to Larsa, with Šuritak (?), the *rabi Amurrim* of Uruk. Disbursement under the authority of Damqi-ilišu, the official in charge of the grain stores. Via Sin-muštāl, the governor of Larsa, and the Judges".

Notes on the text: unu^{ki} in lines 2, 4 with *CAD* Ṣ 47*a*. Sin-muštāl (9-10, Seal 2): his seal can also be found in *YOS* 8 54. This high official recurs in this position in *YOS* 5 227:12 (see below). Could he be identical with the Sin-muštāl, who was PA dam.gàr of Ur at the time of Hammu-rabi? See W. F. Leemans, *The Old Babylonian Merchant*, 80-91, esp. 81-83; add perhaps *BRM* IV 53:44 (undated).

For gìr "via", see Shin T. Kang, *Sumerian economic texts from the Drehem Archive* I, 1972, p. 260 (suggested by W. W. Hallo), but see also Bottéro, *ARMT* VII p. 174-6.

We can gather from this short text that troops were moving from Uruk to Larsa at the end of the year, probably auxiliary troops to be used for the confrontation with Samsu-iluna. Another text, dated two months earlier, gives a list of *unūtu ša ištu* Larsam^{ki} *Sin-muštāl šāpir* Larsam^{ki} *ana maḫar* lugal *ušabilam*, "tools

which Sin-muštal, the governor of Larsa, had brought from Larsa before the king" (*YOS* 5 227:11-14). The copper tools are not weapons but probably more peaceful instruments, such as spades[28]. The king was apparently not in Larsa at that time.

From the comparative chart A of the calendars of both kings (see above) it follows that Samsu-iluna after the end of Rīm-Sin year (*b*) had still two months of his year 9 left for his victory over Yamutbalum, etc., recorded in year name 10, attested on a text from Larsa of 12.II year 10 (*TCL* 11 219). It is interesting to note that Samsu-iluna "organized" a thirteenth month in his ninth year. Was this done for the usual agricultural reasons (see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 24, 1927, 196, and Ungnad, *MAOG* XIII/3, 1940, 21), or did the king need time to accomplish one major exploit to be commemorated in the next year name and in other official texts?

It is possible that the first item in Jean, *Šumer et Accad*, CLXXXIX:172, has to do with Samsu-iluna's march against Larsa, as said by Leemans, *JEOL* 15, 1957-58, 216-218. The text of this item runs: 2 udu.nita *ana meḫri ša inūma* lugal *ištu* uru ká.dingir.ra^{ki} *ana* Larsam^{ki} *illikam*, "two rams for a sacrifice(?) when the king came from Babylon to Larsa" (date of this item: 10.XII).

When one accepts solution B, given above p. 50, then Samsu-iluna had only one month (XIII) to conquer Yamutbalum, etc.

6. *The events of Samsu-iluna year 10*

The first texts dated to Samsu-iluna year 10 outside Larsa occur in the South only since 15.VIII (*UET* 5 243; Ur). Samsu-iluna probably needed several months after the fall of Larsa to defeat Rīm-Sin completely. If Leemans was right, the text from Jean, *Šumer et Accad*, quoted above, could give some information on the whereabouts of Samsu-iluna during this time. According to Samsu-iluna Bil. inscr. C, the "first half of the year" — undoubtedly his tenth year — was spent on this final campaign: *šattum la imšulam Rīm-Sin mušbalkit* KI.EN.GI.SAG.VI *ša ana šarrūt* Laršam^{ki} *innašiu inārma in erṣet* Kiš^{ki} *damtam elišu išpuk* "The year was not half gone before he had smitten Rīm-Sin, the instigator of the rebellion of Yamutbalum who had been raised to the kingship of Larsa, and heaped up a tumulus (?) over him on Kishite soil" (Sollberger, *RA* 63, 1969, 35-36, 39-40; lines 101-102).

Now the colophon of *TCL* 16 no. 50 (Plate CXII), provenience not indicated, has the date itu.zíz.a ud.14.kam mu ^{d}*ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal.e ús.sa lú.kúr

[28] *CAD* A/1 s.v. *agasalakku*.

lú.ḫul.gál, that is 14.XI Rīm-Sin II (*b*+1). According to my chart A this day should fall in the IXth month of Samsu-iluna 10. This means that (a) *šattum la imšulam* "the year was not yet half gone" is not true for the whole of the South [29], (b) *inārma* in line 109 needs not be taken literally ("to kill"); cp. Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie...* (= *MAIB* 43/2, 1942) p. 11 (= 239): "il le vainquit", and see Sollberger's translation, given above. Note that lines 114-115 have the sequence *zā'irišu inār gimeršunu iškiš* "he *smote* his ennemies, he *slayed* them all".

The heaping of the tumuli (?) (see Westenholz, *AfO* 23, 1970, 27-31), too, is in that case a distortion of the truth. For this problem it is interesting what the "Early Babylonian Chronicle" has to say about the defeat of Rīm-Sin: (broken context) [...] *x ba-al-ṭu-ut-su ina* É.GAL *x*[...], "[...] him alive from/into the palace [...]". (King, *Chron. conc. Early Bab. Kings* II, 1907, p. 123 line 17; now *TCS* 5 155).

Conclusion: *šattum* (i.e. year 10) *la* [30] *imšulam* may be true only for parts of the South; the killing, etc., of Rīm-Sin cannot be right. The source of this information is Samsu-iluna Bil.C, commemorating the construction of the wall of Kish. This wall was built only in his 23rd regnal year (cp. year name 24). The large gap of time between the defeat of Rīm-Sin and the date of this inscription could explain the lack of accuracy in this historical digression.

7. *Rīm-Sin II, years (a) and (b)*

We could state with tolerable certainty that year name (*a*) occurs exclusively in texts from Ur: five texts in *UET* 5; three texts in the Ormsby archive. The assignment of the other texts to Ur (in Appendix A) requires some explanation.

Riftin no. 21 comes from Ur, as seen by Leemans, *BiOr* 12, 1955, 113*b*. The year name of Pinches, *PSBA* 39, 1917, Plate IV no. 17 is difficult to read, but may be our year (*a*); so Ungnad, *RLA* 2 164*a* [282]. This texts originates from Ur; Ur is indicated by the clause inim.gál.la in.na.an.gub.bu (line 10; see Leemans, *op. cit.*, F. R. Kraus, *WdO* 2, 1955, 124, D) and by the PN *a-aḫ*-kal.la ab.a.ab.du$_7$ (line 13 and Seal, Plate IX); we see this person again in *UET* 5 754:19 (Rīm-Sin I, year 15), 758:23 (id., year 16) and possibly 692:7 (id., year 11). This Aḫ-kalla

[29] There is a tendency in Babylonian and Assyrian royal inscriptions to concentrate victorious exploits of the king into a very short span of time; R. Borger, *EAK* I 56. Such an exaggeration is not impossible here. — See in particular Tadmor, *Iraq* 35, 1973, 143 (courtesy Prof. Veenhof).

[30] *la* in main clauses means clearly "not yet" in *BRM* IV no. 2 col. I:6-9 (= Landon, *Babyloniaca* XII, 1931, 10-11) and OB Gilg. P col. III:9 (= Jastrow-Clay, *YOSR* IV/III, 1920, 65 line 89). "Not yet" is possible in *YOS* 2 149:19 and Goetze, *Sumer* 14, 1958, 29 no. 11:21-22. The contexts of other refs. (von Soden, *AHw* 521*a*, 7.) are dark to me. In Old Akkadian: Hirsch, *AfO* 20, 1963, 68 Rimuš b 12 x+8 (= *PBS* 5 34 col. 27:1' and *RA* 8, 1911, 139 II:4).

seems to have lived a long time: from Rīm-Sin I year 15 untill Samsu-iluna 9 amounts to 67 years. Could they be different persons belonging to the same family? ìr ^{d}nin.gal on the Seal (Plate IX) points also to Ur.

The provenience of *BIN* 2 73 is not given. This text may belong to the group of Ur texts housed in the Yale Babylonian Collection (Hallo, *AS* 16 200 fn. 12), but I cannot prove this.

On first thought, one might assume that (*a*) is the second year of Rīm-Sin II. Year (*a*) has twelve months (*UET* 5 411; Riftin no. 21). Month XII of a second year of Rīm-Sin, following year (*b*), would coincide with month X of Samsu-iluna 10 (see chart A). But we have a text from Ur, dated 10.IX and another text dated 15.VIII Samsu-iluna 10 (see Appendix A). Even if Samsu-iluna had had two more intercalary months (e.g., XIII Si 8 and VI*b* Si 10), *UET* 5 411 (15.XII (*a*)) and *UET* 5 243 (15.VIII Si 10) would still have been written and dated on the same day. Only if one assumes a third extra intercalary month in this period (VI*b* Si 9) one could propound such a theory. But this is too speculative.

The conclusion which lies at hand is that year name (*a*) designates the same year as year name (*b*). Year name (*b*) was not used in Ur. From the wording of *year name* **(b)** one gains the impression that it is not complete:

mu ^{d}*ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal ^{d}nin.maḫ.e é.kèš^{ki} temen.an.ki.bi.da.ta nam.lugal.kalam.kiši.gál.la.šè gal.*bi*.ta ba.an.íl.la lú.kúr lú.ḫul.gál *ka-šu-ú*^{ki} kur.ta kur.kur.šè gaba.bi nu.ge$_4$.a

Sources: Jean, *Tell Sifr* no. 85*a*; Faust, *YOS* 8 54; Çiğ and Kızılyay, *Belleten* 26 (1962) 44 Ni.13235. Tentative translation: "Year: Nin-maḫ raised Rīm-Sin to kingship over all countries in the Keš temple, the temenos of heaven and earth[31], and the enemy, the evil Kassites from the barbarous country, who could not be driven back to the mountains(?) ....

To consider this formula as complete would lead to several improbabilities, as Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie...* (= *MAIB* 43/2, 1942) p. 8 (= 236) fn. 3, realized. Could it be possible that year name (*a*) is another part of year name (*b*)?

Year name **(a)** reads as follows:

mu ^{d}*Ri-im*-^{d}EN.ZU lugal urí^{ki}.ma
é.mud.kur.ra.ke$_4$ KI.EDEN.šè bí.in.gar.ra

I do not understand this year name. Probably it says that Rīm-Sin II founded (gar) the temple Emudkurrak to/as ... (KI.EDEN).

Uptill now, Assyriologists used to read gán.zi.kur.ra.ke$_4$ instead of é.mud.kur.ra.ke$_4$. The signs é and mud, however, are pretty clear in the date formulae of Riftin 21 and *UET* 5 128, 411, 536, 556.

[31] So Gragg, *TCS* 3 161.

Sjöberg, *MNS* I, 1960, 61-62, was the last to discuss this temple name ("ein Beiname des Heiligtum Ekišnugal in Ur").

The year name refers to some activity of the king in Ur or near Ur.

Above, we suggested that this year name (*a*) could be another part of year name (*b*). Still, it would be unparalleled if this part of the year name was used only and exclusively at Ur.

We refrain from resorting to the desperate theory that *two* usurpers existed, who both adopted the hallowed name of Rīm-Sin I — the one residing in Larsa (year name *b*), the other in Ur (year name *a*).

8. *The aftermath*

The conquest of Ur and Uruk is recorded in *year name* **11** of Samsu-iluna :

mu *sa-am-su-i-lu-na* lugal.e dug$_4$.ga.an.^{d}en.líl.lá.bi.da bàd urí^{ki} ù unu^{ki}. ga mu.un.gul.la (ù?) ugnim ki.uri a.rá.[*x*.àm] giš.tukul.ta in.sìg.[ga]

"Year : Samsu-iluna the king on the command of Anum and Enlil destroyed the wall of Ur and Uruk (and ?) smote the troops of Akkad [eight?] times with the weapons".

Notes : See for this year name F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 3, 1951, 10-11 (2.) and B. Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 61-62. Variants : ba.an.gul.e, *UET* 5 485; bàd.gal urí^{ki}.ma ù UD.UNU^{ki} (*sic*) mu.un.gul, *UET* 5 268.

One is tempted to conjecture a.rá.[8.àm] in view of Samsu-iluna Bil. inscr. B, Sumerian version, lines 34-39 : nigin ke.en.gi ki.uri lú gú mu.da.ab.dù.uš.a šà.mu.dili.a.ka a.rá.8.àm giš.tukul.ta ḫé.em.mi.sìg, "the whole of Sumer and Akkad, those who had revolted against me, I smote with the weapons eight times within one year" (For the Akkadian version, see E. Sollberger, *RA* 61, 1967, 41, lines 40-46). Inscr. B, however, refers to "the whole of Sumer and Akkad", whereas year name 11 in the versions known to us has only "the troops of Akkad". The passage in Inscr. B speaks in general terms of the subjugation of inimical Sumer and Akkad during the period before the building of Ebabbar, commemorated in this inscription (= year name 18). Still, lines 34-39 could refer to the events of year name 11, which must have been decisive and most impressive in the eyes of posterity : in that tenth year, Samsu-iluna had defeated the enemy troops no less than eight times. To the author of Inscr. B, looking back, this may have meant the defeat of "the whole of Sumer and Akkad"; see also my footnote 29 on p. 53.

That the events recorded in year name 11 took place during the tenth year, follows from *UET* 5 485, dated 29.I (Year name 11) and *BE* 6/1 58 (6.III, 11).

It is probable that Samsu-iluna used his eleventh year or parts of it for the elimination of the last centers of resistance; his *year name* **12** says kur.gú.si.a an.ga.àm mu.un.da.bal.eš.àm usu.maḫ.^{d}marduk.ke$_4$.mu.un.na.an.sum.ma.a ugnim ke.en.gi.ki.uri giš.tukul.ta bí.in.sìg.ga, "Once again (?)[32], the totality of the land had revolted against him and with the mighty power which Marduk had given to him he smote the troops of Sumer and Akkad with the weapon" (Sources: F. R. Kraus, *JCS* 3 11, 3. and *TIM* 4 22. Variant: mu.da.bal.e.eš.àm, *TIM* 4 9).

Year name 17 of Samsu-iluna informs us that the king has reconstructed the "great walls of Emutbalum, which had been destroyed".

Historical tradition did not forget Rīm-Sin II. His short reign is recorded in the chronicle King, *Chron. conc. Early Bab. Kings* Vol. II p. 123, quoted above p. 53. The fragmentary K. 14839 (King, *op. cit.*, Vol. I p. 183) runs: $^{1'}$ [...^{d}]EN.ZU $^{2'}$ [... *s*]*u-i-lu-na* $^{3'}$ [... *dī*]-*ta-na* $^{4'}$ [...]*x su* (right hand column). Which tradition is reflected in this text?

The problems Samsu-iluna had to cope with were not over after his victory over Rīm-Sin II. We know from his inscriptions and year names that many rebellions had to be stilled. Only two instigators of those revolts are known to us by their names: Iluni of Ešnunna (Samsu-iluna Bil. Inscr. C lines 116-122; Sollberger, *RA* 63, 1969, 36; cp. G. Boyer, *CHJ*, 1928, HE. 167:24) and Ilima-ilum, known from Nippur texts (Hilprecht, *Deluge story* (= *BE* D V/1), 1910, p. 9-10 fn. 3; Goetze, *JCS* 5, 1951, p. 102 fn. 45; Jacobsen, *AS* 11, 1939, p. 195 fn. 15; King, *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 125 lines 6-9; *ARN* no.123). A study of this Ilima-ilum, which makes use of the unpublished Nippur texts (McCown and Haines, *OIP* 78, 1967, 75-76), could be rewarding.

APPENDIX A: Texts dated to Samsu-iluna, years 8 and 10, and to the reign of Rīm-Sin II

Place \ Year	Samsu-iluna 8	Rīm-Sin II mu RS lugal.e: no indication year *a*: (a), year *b*: (b) added	Samsu-iluna 10
Bad-Tibira (one archive; Leemans, JEOL 15 214-218)	2.V Birot, TEBA no. 23	23.II TLB 1 197(b) 8.III Jean, ŠA 167(b) —.IX Jean, ŠA 168(b) 27.X Jean, ŠA 175(b)	

[32] Uncertain; cp. C. Wilcke, *JNES* 27, 1968, 240-242 and *Das Lugalbandaepos* 159 on line 74. See already Poebel, *GSG*, 1923, p. 196 §498 with fn. 1 (Thureau-Dangin: "zum zweiten Mal").

Place \ Year	Samsu-iluna 8	Rīm-Sin II mu RS lugal.e : no indication year *a* : (a), year *b* : (b) added	Samsu-iluna 10
Lagash (one archive; Thureau-Dangin JA 10-XIV 341)		18.III Ni.13235(b); Belleten 26 44 10.V TCL 1 233 3.VI VAS 13 58 (from this archive?)	10.XII TCL 1 129
Larsa	(last text : 20.XII Samsu-iluna 7, TCL 11 215)	10.II YOS 5 226(b) 12.IV YOS 8 83(b) 17.IV YOS 8 54(b) 10.VII YOS 8 55 23.X YOS 5 227(b) 18.XII Riftin no. 84(b) 26.XII PSBA 39 Plate VIII no. 21(b)	1.I YOS 12 314 12.II TCL 11 219 —.IX YOS 12 320
Kutalla (Ungnad, ZA 23 73 ff.)	—.— TSifr 83 —.VIb TSifr 80 5.VII TSifr 81 8.VII TSifr 82	—.XI TSifr 86(b) 26.XI TSifr 85(b)	10.XI TSifr 84
Nippur (cp. McCown, OIP 78 76, on Level X)	—.III BE 6/2 28	1.IV OECT 8 14(b) —.VII ARN 124(b) 11.VIII ARN 125(b) 25.X OECT 8 19(b)	3.IX OECT 8 11 20.IX PBS 8 130 12.X JCS 18 104 2 N-T 771 15.X TIM 4 5-6 —.XII ARN 87-91
Ur (Kraus, OLZ 50 523-524, Brinkman, ORNS 38 344-345)	13.III or XI UET 5 448, till 28.IX, Ormsby archive no. 11	For the Ormsby archive, see p. 46 f. 10.III UET 5 536(a) 1.VI ib. 556(a) 20.VIII ib. 128(a), 214(a) —.IX ib. 866 —.X ib. 867 23.XI PSBA 39 Plate IV no. 17(a?) 15.XII UET 5 411(a) 9.XII Riftin no. 21(a)	15.VIII UET 5 243 10.IX UET 5 202
Elsewhere in Southern Babylonia (for the archive Riftin nos 70-83 see p. 45 f.)	1.III TIM 5 55 3.V TIM 5 9 10.VI Riftin no. 3 2.VII Riftin no. 8 20.[ ] Jean, ŠA 180 1.XII YOS 12 313	16.VII Holma no. 1(b) 10.IX BIN 7 175(b), from Isin 10.IX BAP 1(b) —.XII MAH 16202(b), Szlechter, TJDB II p. 51 30.XII BIN 2 73(a), see p. 54	20.XII Riftin no. 7 —.XII MAH 16165, TJDB II p. 58

APPENDIX B : Intercalary months during the reign of Samsu-iluna

"Int." = itu dirig.ga

Year	Month	Text
3	Int.	CT 4 13a:2, 8, 15
3	6b	YOS 12 73
5	6b	TCL 1 114
5	6.ki.2	Tell Sifr 71
7	Int.	TIM 5 45
8	6b	Tell Sifr 80
9	12b	CT 47 62
11	Int.	JCS 11 32 no. 20
20	12b	BE 6/2 52, 53
23	12b	TLB 1 129, CT 8 32a
27	12b	Riftin no. 41, TLB 1 86, BIN 7 205

Remark : Only some texts from the unpublished *YOS* 12 are known to me.

Note to Appendix B : I did not take into account the "unpublished texts" given by Langdon, Schoch, Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammi-saduqa*, 1928, 63. They give intercalary months for years 2, 10, 16, 17, 28, 37. The density of intercalary months during the first eleven years of Samsu-iluna is disturbing. Not all of them can be explained as adjustments to the agricultural calendar, because the harvest took place neither too early nor too late in years 6, 7 (?), and 8 according to dated dockets (Weitemeyer, *Some aspects of the hiring of workers in the Sippar region at the time of Hammurabi*, 1962, 61-62). Theoretically, Samsu-iluna could not only add, but also omit months of a year, for the balance to be restored. A full list of sufficient texts dated to these years could corroborate or eliminate this last assumption; see provisionally B. Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 56-62.

IV. NAMES OF ABI-EŠUḪ'S LAST YEARS

A. Goetze was the last to present a detailed study of the year names of Abi-ešuḫ (*JCS* 5, 1951, 98-103). For his reconstructions and arrangement of the year names he could use many new texts, published and unpublished, not known to Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 185-187.

The order of the date formulae of Abi-ešuḫ's first three years has been established by Landsberger in *JNES* 14, 1955, p. 145-147, VIII 1, 2, 3; see now for the second year Edzard, *Altbab. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell ed-Dēr*, 1970, p. 215f. No. 234.
Other texts, published since 1951, can help us to get a clearer picture of the correct order of the date formulae of the last years of this king.

k Poebel, *BE* 6/2 p. 81-82, *c*, *c*+1, has already noted that year name *k* (in Ungnad's system, which we will follow here, as far as possible) follows *i*, because two texts, dated to *k*, record payments over year *i* (*BE* 6/1 72 and 73). This order *i* — *k* has been adopted ever since (Schorr, *VAB* 5 p. 599, *g* and *h*; Ungnad, *RLA* 2 186*a*, *i* and *k* [192-193]; Goetze, *JCS* 5 102*b* sub V; Barbara Morgan, *MCS* 3, 1953, 75).

Unfortunately, none of these scholars noticed that the sign "nimgir" in *k* is to be read bára and that this alleged nimgir has nothing to do with nim.gír.a "flashing bolt of lightning", occurring in an other year name of Abi-ešuḫ.

aa Ungnad, *RLA* 2 186*b* [209], listed as year name *aa* the formula ^{na_4} *aš-šal* ^{na_4} *aš-šal-a na ... bi* ^{d}*iškur-ri lu ... bi-da-ké*. This is a formule taken from an unpublished text and communicated by Johns. That text is MLC 259 according to Goetze, *JCS* 5 103 note 56; published by Goetze, *JCS* 5 94, where we can read the year name as follows :

mu *A-bi-e-šu-uḫ* lugal.e
nim.gír.nim.gír.a na ...
^{d}iškur ká.[dingir.r]a$^{k[i]}$ x x

Actually, *CT* 45 40 shows that *k* and *aa* are two different year names. This text is dated to year *aa* and lists amounts of silver "over two years, left in the hands of the summoners (*dēkûm*)" (21-23). Those two years — undoubtedly successive — are *k* (line 4) and *aa* (line 14).

CT 48 93, dated to the last year of Abi-ešuḫ (28), records the receipt of wool, part of the dues over year *aa* (lines 3-4). This of course does not prove that *aa* is the year immediately preceding 28.

l *BE* 6/1 119 contains an enumeration of several contracts of purchase concluded during the reigns of Abi-ešuḫ and Ammi-ditana. These contracts seem to have been copied in chronological order; the year names are Abi-ešuḫ *k* (!) (I:30-31), *l* (II:30-31), and Ammi-ditana 4 (III:8-9).

For this reason Poebel called year name *l* "c+1+x" (= our *k*+1+x); see *BE* 6/2 p. 82 with note 1; accepted by Ungnad, *RLA* 2 186*a* [193-194], and Goetze, *JCS* 5 103*a*.

Goetze, *JCS* 5 103*b*, drew from his investigations the conclusion that "for the twenty-eight years of Abi-ešuḫ, then, 27 proper formulae and 4 mu.gibil.egir formulae, a total of 31, are at our disposal".

Now that we can prove that *k* and *aa* are two distinct year names (*CT* 45 40), we seem to have the "proper" formulae for all the 28 years of Abi-ešuḫ. This means that it is highly improbable — if not impossible — that in some future new year names will be found which would fit somewhere between the last year names of Abi-ešuḫ :

$$CT\ 45\ 40 \quad \begin{cases} i \\ k \end{cases} \quad BE\ 6/1\ 72,\ 73$$

$$\qquad\quad \begin{cases} k+1 = aa \\ 28 \end{cases} \quad CT\ 48\ 93$$

It is possible that *l* is the year between *k*+1 = *aa* and 28 (= 27)[33].

p Year name *p* has a position close to the end of Abi-ešuḫ's reign, as Goetze, *JCS* 5 101 note 40, observed; see already Goetze, *JCS* 2, 1948, 101, sub-group B. This is now confirmed by the dates of new texts belonging to sub-group B : see my remarks in *JCS* 25, 1973, 233, on *YOS* 13 506, 508. Note that three other texts, dated to Abi-ešuḫ *aa*, *p*, and Ammi-ditana 2, have some individuals in common : *YOS* 13 384:8 (Ae *aa*) = *YOS* 13 504:3 (Ae *p*); *YOS* 13 384:15 = 504:10; *YOS* 13 384:3-4 = Szlechter, *TJDB* II p. 157 MAH 16275:4-5 (Ad 2).

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[33] Year name *l* is now also attested in Truro 7 (Walker, *AfO* 24, 1973, 124) (ref. Prof. Kraus). For the city Adnatum, cf. [ur]u *Ad-*[*n*]*a-tum*^{ki}, Birot, *TEBA* No. 69 II:32 (Larsa); note a.šà *Ad-na-tum*, *MSL* 11 136 Forerunner 2 II:9.

Does *p* precede *i*?

Year names *s*, *x*, and *bb* are three more names belonging to the last years of Abi-ešuḫ.

s Year name *s* occurs in *YOS* 13 494. This text has some connections with *YOS* 13 368 (Ammi-ditana 5) and Grant, *Smith College Tablets* No. 264 (Abi-ešuḫ 28), as was shown in *JCS* 25 231, on *YOS* 13 368.

bb, x The texts belonging to Archive K (*JCS* 25 227) are dated as follows: Abi-ešuḫ *x* (*YOS* 13 419), Abi-ešuḫ *bb* (*YOS* 13 489), Abi-ešuḫ [x], (*YOS* 13 495), Ammi-ditana 1 (*YOS* 13 496).

Archive L, which has one person in common with Archive K, is dated to the early years of Ammi-ditana's reign.

As to year name *x*: *VAS* 18 7 is dated to this year; the PN of lines 4-5 occurs also in Szlechter, *TJDB* II 138 MAH 16218:2-3. This text is dated Ammi-ṣaduqa 1.

It may be useful to give now the full formulas of year names *k* and *aa*, as attested in the texts. I owe two refs. to Dr. Van Driel.

k

mu *A*. lugal.e bár.bár.guškin.kù.babbar.bi.da.ke$_4$
BE 6/1 72
mu *A*. lugal.[e] bár$^!$.bár.ra.KÙ.G[I (x)].kù.babbar$^!$.bi.da.k[e$_4$ ...]
JCS 2 105 No. 7
mu *A*. lugal.e bár.bár.a.guškin.ga.kù.babbar.ra.bi.da.ke$_4$
BE 6/1 73, *CT* 6 24b
YOS 13 505 (here no .a after bár.bár)
mu *A*. lugal.e bár.bár$^!$.ṣ.guškin.ga.ke$_4$
BE 6/1 119 I:30-31, *BIN* 2 90
mu bár.bár.a
CT 45 40:4, 9
mu *A*. lugal.e bár.bár.ṣ.K[Ù.G]I.ga.kù.babbar^{ba}.ra.bi.da.ke$_4$
CT 8 17b, *JCS* 2 111 No. 25 (no. ^{ba} in the last word)
mu *A*. lugal.e bár.bár.a.guškin.ga
YOS 13 486, *CT* 48 32
mu *A*. luga[l.e] bár.bár.guškin.ga.k[e$_4$]
YOS 13 506

Translation: "Throne daises of gold and silver" (...)

aa (= $k+1$)

mu nim.gír.nim.gír.a
CT 45 40:14, 19, 29; *JCS* 2 106 No. 14; *YOS* 13 339 (starts: mu *A.* lugal.e)
mu *A.* lugal.e nim.gír.nim.gír.a.guškin.ga.a.ke$_4$
BE 6/2 94
[mu *A.*] lugal.e [nim.gír n]im.gír.a.guškin.ga
YOS 13 255
mu *A.* lugal.e nim.gír nim.gír.a.guškin.ga.ke$_4$
BE 6/1 76; *JCS* 2 108 Nos. 13, 16
mu *A.* lugal.e nim.gír nim.gír.a.guškin.kù.babbar.bi.da.ke$_4$
YOS 13 372
mu *A.* lugal.e nim.gír nim.gír.a.KÙ.GI$^{!}$.ga$^{!}$.ke$_4^{!}$
CT 48 93:3-4
mu *A.* lugal.e nim.gír nim.gír.a na x x (x)^{d} iškur ká.[dingir.r]a$^{k[i]}$ x [...]
JCS 5 94 *MLC* 259 (cf. *JCS* 5 103 note 56)
[mu] *A.* lugal.e [nim.gír n]im.gír.a.KÙ.[G]Ḭ.ạ.ke$_4$
[^{d}iškuḫ]r ká.dingir.ra^{ki} MA BA PA
[(x)] bí.ši.in.dím.ma
YOS 13 384

Translation: "Flashing lightning bolts (made of) gold and silver were fashioned for Adad of Babylon ...".

V. EMUTBALUM

1. *The name*

Emutbalum, also written Emutbala, Yamutbalum, Yamutbal(a), is originally the name of a nomadic tribe, as is clear from the title *abu Emutbala* "sheikh of Emutbala" and the PN *Su-mu-E-mu-ut-ba-la* (*TIM* 5 18:8) and vars. (Goetze, *JCS* 4 72 fn. 12), when compared with names like *Sumu-Amnānum* (*VAS* 16 19:3), see Kraus, *Könige die in Zelten wohnten*, 1965, 6.

The name [*Su-*]*mu-ja-mu-tu-ba-la*, attested on a school tablet, *PBS* XI/2 No. 1 I:19, seems to indicate the quality of the dental in the element *jamut*. Often, in the Mari texts exclusively, this element has initial *ja-*; the alternation *ja-/e-* is no exception in Amorite PNs; compare *Ja-šu-ub*-AN in the Mari texts (Huffmon, *Amorite PNs* 266) with *E-šu-ub*-AN in a text from Lagash (Walters, *Water for Larsa* Text 116:4).

Speculations on the meaning of this element did not yet yield unequivocal results, see Goetze, *JCS* 4, 1950, 72; Edzard, *ZZB* 105 fn. 512; Huffmon, *Amorite PNs* 229 MD; Buccellati, *Amorites of the Ur III Period* 127, 335; Finkelstein, *JCS* 20, 1966, 100 fn. 13; Albright, *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan*, 1968, 60[33a].

The second element, *bala*, seems to recur in the FN *A-ma-at-*^{d}*Ba-a-la* (*Baghd. Mitt.* 2, 1963, p. 72:5, 9); for the spelling with *-a-*, cf. *E-mu-ut-ba-a-lum*^{ki} in *OECT* II Pl. V col. I § 2:6.

The name finds a parallel in *Ja-mu-ut-Li-im*, Bauer, *MAOG* 4, 1928-29, 7; BM 13293 (Figulla, *CBTBM* I, 1961, 101).

The name Emutbalum/Yamutbalum is not necessarily declined; AO 8481 reads on the tablet erén.ḫi.a *ja-mu-ut-ba-lim* (Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 167) and on the case erén.ḫi.a *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum* (*TCL* 10 54:5). The writing of the determinative ki is optional. Note the writing *Ja-e-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki}, Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, I Pl. XXIV *MAH* 16165:18 (= II p. 59).

[33a] The PN *ja-mu-ut-x-(x)-NI-a* on the cylinder seal *Collection de Clercq* I, 1888, No. 386, has been overlooked in these discussions. The style of the seal is Egyptianizing; from Syria?

2. *Before and at the time of the Kudur-mabuk Dynasty*

The earliest texts mentioning Emutbala strongly suggest that the country of Emutbala was located East of the Tigris. Emutbalum occurs in a late copy of a description of the empire of Sargon of Akkad. This text, *KAV* 92 (with Weidner, *AfO* 16 1-24), after having listed KUR *Edamaruṣ*^{KI}, KUR *Marî*^{KI} (= *Warûm*), KUR *Malgî*^{KI} (22-24), continues : [T]A LUGAL-GI.NA^{KI} EN *me-e mar-ru-tú* KUR *e-mut-ba-lum*^{KI} (25); then follow KUR *R[aḫab]u[t]*^{KI}, *x*, KUR *M[uti]abal*^{KI} (26-28). With Weidner, p. 17, and Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 172, this Emutbalum is to be sought between the Pusht-i-Kuh and the Tigris.

The same conclusion may be drawn for the Yamutbalum mentioned in a text from Eshnunna : Belakum of Eshnunna, who ruled somewhere between the reigns of Ur-Ninmar and Ipiq-Adad II (Jacobsen, *OIP* 43 120), had a covenant with Akkad, Yamutbal, Numḫium, and Idamaraṣ (*OIP* 43 198) : *A-ka-du-um Ja-mu-ut-ʿbaʾ-lum Nu-um-ḫi-um I-da-ʿma-raʾ-aṣ*, TA 1930–*T* 575 : 7-8 (courtesy R. M. Whiting).

In inscription 13 of Warad-Sin[34], see Edzard, *ZZB* 169, Kudur-mabuk (ad.da kur mar.tu) confers on himself the qualification lú šu.gar é.babbar.ra.ke$_4$ bí.in.gi$_4$.a ugnim *ka-zal-lu*^{ki} ù *mu-ti-a-ba-al-la*.ke$_4$ šà.UD.UNU^{ki} šà.e-*mu-ut-ba-la*.ke$_4$ sag giš bí.in.ra.a, "who took revenge for Ebabbar (and) smote the troops of Kazallu and Mutiabal in Larsa, in Emutbal". The second year name of Warad-Sin, commemorating the same victory, uses almost the same words, but omits šà.*e-mu-ut-ba-la*.ke$_4$ in the versions known to us (Edzard, *ZZB* 170 on top).

I think it is clear from this context that Larsa at this time was located in Emutbala. The Akkadian inscription of Kudur-mabuk supports this theory; in that text Kudur-mabuk says "To Larsa and Emutbala I did not do an evil deed" (*RA* 11 91-6 col. I:4-5), cp. "the enemy of Larsa, the evildoer of Emutbalum" in his inscription published by Edzard, *AfO* 20 159 Ni 2760:3-4. Larsa and Emutbala are a political and geographical unity. Emutbala was the kingdom ruled by Warad-Sin and Rīm-Sin, later on conquered by Hammurabi. The contexts of the letters *YOS* 2 49 (belonging to the archive of Ṣillî-Šamaš; some of the texts are dated to Rīm-Sin year 2 and 3 : *YOS* 2 94 and *TCL* 17 4) and *YOS* 2 134, both from Larsa, are in favor of this supposition, which is fully confirmed by texts from the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna (see below p. 66 ff.).

In the administrative text *TCL* 10 54 (22nd year of Rīm-Sin) rations are disbursed to "the messenger of Eshnunna"; then follows the interesting phrase *inūma*

[34] Warad-Sin himself is the subject in the similar inscr. 16 ("vielleicht nur ein Probestück", Edzard, *Sumer* 13, 1957, 184).

erén.ḫi.a *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum* (for the var., see above p. 63) *ina* maš.gán-PA.AL^{ki} *ana* kaskal èš.nun.na^{ki} *ipḫurū* "when the troops of Yamutbalum gathered in Maškan-šāpir for the expedition to (against ?) Eshnunna". Here, again, nothing prevents us from assuming that "Yamutbal" stood for the kingdom of Rīm-Sin.

The current hypothesis is that Emutbalum should be sought East of the Tigris, "around or at least to the east and north-east of Maškanšabir on the Tigris" (Leemans, *Foreign Trade* 173). This may be only a part of the truth. Kupper was, as far as I know, the first to question this long-held conviction when reviewing Edzard's *ZZB* in *OR* NS 27, 1958, 442-3 : "On est amené ainsi à se demander si une autre fraction [de la tribu Emutbal] encore ne s'était pas établie dans les environs de Larsa, comme les Amnanû autour d'Uruk..." The early history of the Kudur-mabuk dynasty, closely connected with Emutbalum, is largely unknown to us (see Edzard, *ZZB* 168-9, for some suggestions). In any case, the reason for the new name "Emutbalum" for the land of Larsa may be found in the rule laid down by Kupper in his *Nomades*, p. 216 "Certains districts tirent leur nom des populations qui s'y étaient installées".

In the present state of our knowledge of the extent of Warad-Sin's and Rīm-Sin's realms, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not the homeland of the Emutbala tribe(s) belonged to their territory.

The ref. in a text from Khafajah, R. Harris, *JCS* 9, 1955, p. 96, 113 No. 82:1', remains uncertain and isolated.

3. *Emutbalum in the inscriptions and year names of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon*

a. Hammurabi

Hammurabi year **8**

Year name 8 is recorded in several lists of year names, but only list F mentions Emutbalum : [mu ma.d]a *e-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} (Ungnad, *RLA* 2, 1938, 170, F no. 110). Lieberman, *JCS* 22 p. 61 fn. 71, wants to read here [mu gú íl]d *e-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki}.

The other lists give year name 8 as mu gú íd *šu-mun*$^{?}$*-dar* (M); mu ma.da gú íd *sumun-dar* (A, K, L). This form of the year name occurs (with variants) in dated contracts and documents : *VAS* 8 59; *VAS* 9 45:10; *TCL* 1 60; *CT* 48 46, etc.

mu ma.da *emutbalum*^{ki} is an abridged form of Hammurabi year 31. List F suggests that this formula can equally well stand for year name 8 and this is accepted as such by Ungnad, *RLA* 2 178 no. 110 [8].

Let us investigate the texts bearing the year name mu ma.da *emutbalum*^{ki} (see Ungnad, *op. cit.*, and B. Morgan, *MCS* 3 37).

BE 6/1 29 This text is closely connected with *BE* 6/1 40 (Ḫ 42), 41 (id), 53 (Si 4), and 34 (Ḫ 41), as Lautner, *Altbab. Personenmiete*, 1936, p. 205 fn. 598, showed. So this text is dated to Ḫ 31.

VAS 13 13 The year name is no. 27, variant *e*, of Uruk (Rīm-Anum, see Falkenstein, *Baghdad. Mitt.* 2, 1963, 13).

VAS 9 42/43 Nīšī-ināšu, *nadītum*-priestess, daughter of Sin-iddinam, buys a small plot. The first witnesses, Annum-pī-Aja and Išme-Sin, are priests (sanga) of Šamaš in *VAS* 13 25 (Ḫ 41), *CT* 2 41 (Ḫ 38), etc., see Renger, *ZA* 59, 1969, 107-109, 115; certainly not in Hammurabi's eighth year (Renger, p. 115).

VAS 8 111 A harvest labor contract (= *VAB* 5 no. 166). The man who gives silver on loan in this contract could be identical with the moneylender in CUA 66 (Goetze, *JCS* 11 28 no. 17), a harvest labor contract dated Ḫ 40.

BM 81895 Published by Weitmeyer, *Some aspects of the hiring of workers in the Sippar region*, 1962, 58, 97 no. 113. Most of the largest group of dockets we know are dated to the last years of Hammurabi and the first years of Samsu-iluna. The earliest docket of this group is no. 115 (Ḫ 34). We can safely assume that BM 81895 bears the abridged formula of Ḫ 31.

CT 45 25 For the present, I am unable to date this text. Šu-pí-ša, son of Ipiq-Nunu (34), occurs again in *CT* 8 4c:21 (Sin-muballiṭ) (ref. Prof. Kraus).

Texts not informative for our purpose: *VAS* 13 21 (= *HG* 6 1946) and *CT* 4 31d.

This investigation gives us enough reason to agree with Schorr, *VAB* 5 p. 592 fn. 1, that all these texts are "possibly", if not certainly, dated to Hammurabi 31. This evidence only corroborates Landsberger's opinion, that [mu ma.d]a *emutbalum*^{ki} in List F is a mistake (Landsberger, *OLZ* 1916 col. 33-34).

Hammurabi year **31**

Year name 31 runs mu izkim.ti.an.^{d}en.líl.ta igi.erén.na.šè ì.gin.na.a [usu.ma]ḫ$^{!}$.dingir.gal.gal.e.ne.[mu.u]n.na.sum.<mu>.uš.àm ma.da *e-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} ù lugal.bi *ri-im-*^{d}EN.ZU šu.ni sá bí.in.dug$_4$.ga [...]

"Year: Trusting in Anum and Enlil marching at the head of the troops he subjugated the country Emutbalum and its king Rīm-Sin with the e[xalted power] which the great gods had given to him...". For variants, see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 180 [133]; note the variant in *PBS* 8/1 81: mu *Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* lugal izkim.ti.<an>.^{d}en.líl.bi.da ma.da *E-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} ki.en.gi ki.uri^{ri} dug$_4$.ga.né ì.tuš,

"Year : king Hammurabi, trusting in <Anum> and Enlil — the land Emutbalum, Sumer and Akkad, complied to his rule" (cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 15, 1918, 41).

The realm of Rīm-Sin is named "Emutbalum" in this year name (the abridged formula is mu ma.da *Emutbalum*). So Hammurabi deemed it unnecessary to mention the capital, Larsa, explicitly. This makes us wonder (Edzard, *ZZB* 182, and the criticism by Kupper, *OR* NS 27, 1958, 442-3).

After the conquest of Larsa by Hammurabi, Sin-iddinam and Šamaš-ḫāzir were his representatives in Larsa and in its countryside[35].

The geographical name "Emutbalum" is mentioned a few times in the correspondence of Hammurabi. Most relevant are two letters to Sin-iddinam dealing with the same topic, Frankena, *AbBr* 2, 1966, no. 34, and Kraus, *AbBr* 5, 1972, no. 135. In the first letter Hammurabi writes "I am sending herewith PN_1 ..., and PN_2 ..., in order to bring the goddesses of Emutbalum (*ana ištarātim ša e-mu-ut-ba-lim redêm*) ... and let they come hither to Babylon" (4-11), and subsequently the king gives some instructions for the journey. It is likely that in *AbBr* 5 135 (found in Larsa) Hammurabi promises the safe return of the same goddesses, now called "the goddesses of Emutbalum, your district" (*ilātum ša e-mu-ut-ba-lim ša li-ti-ka*). So in this last letter Emutbalum is specified as the district of Sin-iddinam. This district included in any case the territory around Larsa and Larsa itself; in *AbBr* 2 42 Hammurabi requests Sin-iddinam to send him a number of individuals from different towns, like Gubrum on the id.eden.na-Canal (7-8) and Larsa itself (10, 13, 23), summarized as *8* erén *ša lītīka* (26), "eight persons of your district". *AbBr* 2 39 mentions šà.tam.meš *ša* é.ḫi.a dingir.didli *kalašunu* [*ù P*]*N* ... sipad é ^{d}utu [*ša*] *lītīka* (5-8), "*šatammu*s of the temples of the various gods, all of them, [and P]N the herdsman of the temple of Šamaš, [of] your district". This temple is certainly the temple of Šamaš at Larsa. The contexts of other letters where the district (*lītum*) of Sin-iddinam is referred to are less telling: *AbBr* 2 15:6, 14; 23:6 (*ša lītim ša qātīka*); 27:6 (*šāpir mātim ša lītīka*); 40:4.

The word *lītum* means "power; authority" and is derived from *le'ûm* "to be powerful, to be able" (*GAG* §55c, *b*), this contra *CAD* L 151, *lētu*. In this correspondence the word indicates a geographical administrative entity "district under the authority of"; the geographical aspect is clear from the expression *lītum* ki.ta "the southern district" (*AbBr* 1 58:10; *AbBr* 4 166:9'; 86:5; *TCL* 17 63:7; Boyer, *CHJ* HE 111:4). It is striking that a *lītum* an.ta is never mentioned

[35] According to von Soden, *Propylaeen Weltgeschichte* I, 1961, 592, Sin-iddinam was the head of the new district, whereas Šamaš-ḫāzir was charged with the attribution of fields. Leemans, *Symbolae David* II, 1968, 120, suggests that Sin-iddinam was an official of higher rank than Šamaš-ḫāzir.

in these texts, all originating from Southern Babylonia. It is very likely that "the southern district", as seen from Babylon, encompassed the whole district of Larsa. In *AbBr* 4 86, dealing with the shearing of the sheep of the southern district (*lītum* ki.ta), Hammurabi orders Šamaš-ḫāzir to go to Larsa to this end.

To sum up: there seems to be sufficient evidence to put forward the hypothesis "Larsa and surroundings = *lītum* ki.ta = the district of Sin-iddinam = Emutbalum".

TLB 1 195 deals with fields, gú íd idigna bal.ri ^{d}utu.è.a [*li-ib-b*]*u er-ṣ*[*e-e*]*t e-mu-ut-ba-lum* níg.šu PN_1 SAG.TÙN [*ša li-ti*]*m* (?) ki.ta ^{d}EN.ZU-*i-din-nam* GAL.UK[KI]N.NA (4-6), partly based on the collations by Prof. Kraus; see also Leemans, *Symb. Böhl*, 1973, 281 and 287-8: "(fields) on the eastern bank of the Tigris, in the middle of the land of Emutbalum, under PN_1 the *šassukkum*, [of the] southern [distri]ct of (?) Sin-iddinam the *mu'errum*". This text is dated to the 7th year of Samsu-iluna, so it is highly questionable whether our Sin-iddinam is the *mu'errum* ("commander" or the like in non-military context) of line 6. It is not necessary to conclude from this text that Emutbalum should be sought east of the Tigris (Leemans, *Foreign trade in the Old Babylonian period*, 1960, 172-3). The fields are located "in the middle of the land[36] of Emutbalum" and nothing prevents us from thinking that the western part of Emutbalum extended over the right bank of the "Tigris" (= Shatt al-Gharraf) as well.

b. Samsu-iluna

All the relevant materials can be found in my contribution "The reign of Rīm-Sin II" (Chapter III).

Samsu-iluna Bil. Inscr. D commemorates the building of Dūr-Samsu-iluna (Sollberger-Kupper, *IRSA* p. 226-7, IV C 7e) and summarizes the events which had had an impact on the history of the Diyala-region (*Warûm*) during Samsu-iluna's reign. The inscription mentions in this context "the land of Idamaraṣ, from the frontier of Gutium till the frontier of Elam" (Sollberger, *RA* 63, 1969, 42). An East-Tigridian Emutbalum is conspicuously absent in this inscription, written in or after Samsu-iluna's 23rd year; cp. lú *Idamaraṣ Jamutbalum* in Samsu-iluna year name 10.

c. Ammi-ṣaduqa

In the edict of Ammi-ṣaduqa, sections 18' and 19' (Kraus, *Edikt* 40; = sections 20, 21, Finkelstein, *RA* 63, 1969, 47), dumu *Numḫia* dumu *Emutbalum*^{ki} dumu

[36] The specific meaning of *erṣetum* in this and other OB contexts has not yet been investigated.

Idamaraṣ are enumerated. This reminds us of the sequence Yamutbal, Numḫium, and Idamaraṣ in the oath of allegiance to Belakum of Ešnunna (Jacobsen, *OIP* 43, 1940, 198 with fn. 97).

It is possible that at this time, this combination of tribal names had become a formulaic expression for "nomads East of the Tigris".

4. *Emutbalum in letters and other documents*

Emutbalum occurs a few times in letters and other documents, mostly of a private nature. Most of these references are not very relevant to our discussion. Some texts from Larsa have been discussed above, p. 64f.

There is a very interesting OB letter, found in Sippar, edited by F. R. Kraus, *AbBr* 5 no. 232. This letter was written by Lipit-Ištar to Adad-rabi, the commander of a district which included a citadel (*ḫalṣum*). It is highly probable that this Lipit-Ištar is a king, who gives here instructions. If so, he must be identical with the Lipit-Ištar, a contemporary of Sin-muballiṭ, who is known from a few Sippar texts, discussed by me apud Veenhof, *Symbolae Böhl*, 1973, 376 note *c*. When installing Adad-rabi, this king had instructed him to take action (obscure) *inūma* erén.meš *ja-mu-ut-ba-li-im lemnum u ajābum illakamma ina* uru.ki *wašbāti* "as soon as the troops of Yamutbalum, enemy and foe, will arrive while you are officiating in (the) town". Lines 19 and 30 refer to a Rīm-Sin-nada, clearly originating from the realm of Rīm-Sin of Larsa. The Yamutbalites of this letter need not be considered as outright enemies. They seem to be, at the least, potentially dangerous people, who were, possibly, headed by Rīm-Sin-nada.

The year name *CT* 4 22c:11-12 (Ungnad, *RLA* 2 148 [90.-95.]) records the victory of Lipit-Ištar over the Amorites; new texts could show whether the Yamutbalites of our letter have anything to do with those Amorites.

More references for Emutbalum from Southern Babylonian texts, dating to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna: *AbBr* 2 1:5; 58:6; *AbBr* 4 82:5; 90:4; 155:6; *BIN* 7 4:8; 5:3.

Some letters in the archives from Lagaba occasionally mention *Emutbalum* (ki) in obscure contexts. The contracts and administrative texts of these archives are dated between Hammurabi 38 and Samsu-iluna 30 (Frankena, *AbBr* 3, 1968, p. v). Emutbalum occurs in: *AbBr* 3 39:30, 36; 51:21.

A text from Adab runs "As to Mr. PN, he is written on my tablet. Don't enter (?) (this) gentleman on the tablet of the Yamutbalites" (*aššum* PN *awē[lim] ina tuppija šaṭ[er] awēlam ana tuppi* dumu.[meš] *ša ja-mu-ut-ba-li-im la tu-ma-ṣa-[a]*, Luckenbill, *AJSL* 32 278 No. 3:5-9 = Ungnad, *AbBrPh* no. 137).

5. *Yamutbalum in texts from Uruk*

Yamutbal occurs a few times in the texts from Uruk, which were published by Falkenstein in *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963). Rīm-Anum of Uruk boasts of a victory (?) over ma.da *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} ugnim èš.nun.na ki ì.si.in ù *ka-zal-lu* "the land of Yamutbalum, the army of Ešnunna, Isin, and Kazallu" (p. 13 No. 27).

The letter of "Anam" informs us that at the time of king Sin-muballiṭ of Babylon the troops of the tribal confederation Amnān-Yaḫrur, of Uruk, and of Yamutbalum were "mixed together" (*ištēniš bitlul*), p. 56 I:29-30. Still more tantalizing is the sequence dumu *ja-m[u-ut-ba-l]im ù* dumu *ma-a-tim e-li-i-tim* "people of Yamutbalum and people of the Northern Land", ibid. II:3-4.

6. *Yamutbalum in the Mari texts*

Ja-mu-ut-ba-al, Ja-mu-ut-ba-lum, māt Jamutbalim are frequently mentioned in the Mari texts, sometimes in close connection with Numḫâ (*ARM* 2 99 obv. 7; here no copula; *ARM* 6 42:18-19; *ARM* 10 157:9-16). It is not necessary to discuss here the identity and the whereabouts of this tribe, after the assessments of Kupper, *Nomades* 216-217 and Birot, *RA* 66, 1972, 138 (... "les Numhéens, comme les Iamutbaléens, occupaient un territoire déterminé dans le pays du Haut-Habur"). In all the Mari texts (but one, see below) it is obviously not the empire of Rīm-Sin of Larsa that is designated by "Yamutbalum". In fact, the land of Larsa is indicated as *māt Larsa* in *ARMT* 13 47:14. Here, a provisional phrasing of Zimri-Lim year name "12" is suggested by the writer of this letter (Birot, *Syria* 41, 1964, 59-62), who undoubtedly knew that Yamutbalum could stand for the country of Rīm-Sin. By chosing the unequivocal *māt Larsa*, he probably wished to avoid any confusion with nearby Yamutbalum to the North. In this connection it is important to point out that Northern Yamutbalum belonged, at some time, to the kingdom of Zimri-Lim, as *ARM* 10 84:24-5 asserts.

It is only in one letter out of the many stored in the royal archives of Mari, that Yamutbalum, in all probability, designated the country of Rīm-Sin, viz. *ARM* 2 72:21. This letter was sent to Mari by the ambassador in Babylon, who tells Zimri-Lim that Hammurabi had asked Rīm-Sin to arrest the Mutiabalaeans who had fled and sought rescue in Yamutbalum; for the correct translation, see Finet, *ARMT* 15, 1954, p. 127 fn. 1. The equation Yamutbalum = the land Larsa in this Babylonian context needs not surprise us.

We find that Emutbalum/Yamutbalum could designate, at the same time, both the kingdom of Larsa ánd tribal groups in the North, that did not depend on Rīm-Sin.

It is possible that the equation igi.nim = *ia-mu-ut-ba-lum* in a synonym list refers to this Northern Yamutbalum, as suggested by I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, 1944, 92; also p. 93 fn. 6.

7. *Emutbalum in post-OB texts*

Texts from the post-OB period mention Emutbalum only occasionally. These texts probably go back to OB *Vorlagen*.

1. For *KAV* 92, see p. 64.
2. Akkadian prophecy *šallat ja-mu-ut-ba-li iššallal* "the booty of Yamutbalu will be carried off", Lambert-Grayson, *JCS* 18, 1964, 17 text B:20 (= Biggs, *Iraq* 29, 1967, 122).
3. The Assyrian Dream-book, tablet IX: DIŠ *ana ja-mut-ba-li*^{KI} GIN "if he goes to Yamutbalu" (next line: "to Tupliaš"), Oppenheim, *Dreams*, 1956, p. 313 x+22. [DIŠ *ana*] GI.IN.SAG.6.KI GIN, *ibid.* p. 312, first line; see Oppenheim, p. 268-9.
4. The last line of *VAS* 17 43 runs [...] á.daḫ *e-mu-ut-ba-lu*[*m* ...].

Refs. (1,3) point to a region East of the Tigris.

Assurbanipal's Cylinder B III:9 (Piepkorn, *AS* 5 48) and a related text, Thompson, *Iraq* 7, 1940, 101 Col. B:5, revive the concept "Emutbalum", written ^{KUR}*Ja-mut-ba-li* and *nagû* ^{KUR}*Ja-mut-ba-la*, respectively; here it is clearly East of the Tigris (Streck, *VAB* 7/1 p. CCCXLIX).

8. *Emutbalum in the lexical texts*

A Forerunner of ḪḪ has the names *e-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} (*SLT* 213 VIII:17), *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum*^{ki} (*SLT* 216 IV:2; 251:1, 3); see now *MSL* 11, 1974, 104:263. The next entry is Mutiabal, and then two cities in the Diyala region follow, Isin-Šulgi and Šulgi-nanna.

Forerunner 6 offers [*e-mu*]*t-bal-la*^{ki}, see *MSL* 11 140 rev. I':1.

The Sumerian equivalent is ki.en.gi.sag.6, as attested in Samsu-iluna Bil. C, line 105 (Sollberger, *RA* 63 35), see also the Assyrian Dream Book, cited above 7, under 3. Lexical texts give the equations ma.da ki.in.gi.sag.6 = MIN *ja*-[*mut-ba-li*], *MSL* 11 18:30', cf. *ibid.* 35:3.

ma.da ke.èn.gi$^{!}$.sag.6.IŠ = KUR *e-m*[*ut-b*]*a-l*[*a* (?)], *KAV* 183:3 (see Weidner, *AfO* 16 23-24; *MSL* 11 35:3). Note also lugal ki.in.gi.sag.6 (var. lugal sag.6)

= LUGAL *e-mut-ba-li* (Var. MIN KUR *ja-mut-ba-li*), Canonical Lú, *MSL* 12 94:58, variants on p. 111[37].

The context of the Forerunner of Ḫḫ, first mentioned, suggests again a region East of the Tigris. This is in line with the commentary on *ACh* Ishtar XXI:28, cited by Weidner in *MVAeG* 26/2, 1921, 43 fn. 2, which equates *E-mu-ut-ba-la* with Dēr (*VAT* 7038:11); see also Weidner, *AfO* 20, 1963, 117 fn. 6.

For an interpretation of igi.nim = *ja-mu-ut-ba-lum*, 5 *R* 16:20, see above p. 71.

The equation *a-mut-ba-lu* = *mut-pa-lu* ("Emutbalum = Mutiabal") in Malku I 232*a* (*JAOS* 83 428) is late and mistaken.

The conclusion of this investigation is that, in its earliest attestations, "Emutbalum" stood for a region East of the Tigris. Scribal tradition, as reflected in literary and lexical texts, preserved this identification (mostly written *Ja-mu-ut-ba-lum/li/la*), undisturbed by the temporary expansion which this concept underwent during the second half of the OB period.

[37] I do not know what ki.en.gi.sag.6 means. Hommel in his article "Der sechsköpfige Drache von Jamutbal", *Babyloniaca* 2, 1908, 60-61, tried to relate this logogram with the "six-headed wild boar in the mountain", mentioned in a *balag* hymn (lastly M. Cohen, *JCS* 25, 1973, p. 208 fn. 29).

VI. RABIĀNUM

Rabiānum is an Akkadian word meaning "the chief", as will be shown below, 1.b.

In the earliest text where the word occurs (*BIN* 9 199, time of Išbi-Erra of Isin), it appears to be the title of tribal chiefs given by the local population and the authorities with whom they lived in close contact. The seal inscription of the sheikh of the Amnān-Šadlaš (*CT* 48 83) shows that the sheikhs accepted this title and used it in their official inscriptions. Below, under 4-5, we will study this aspect of *rabiānum* and its use as a royal title. In the Mari texts *rabiānum*, as a word indicating the tribal leader or sheikh, does not occur.

There can be no doubt that the well-known OB word *rabiānum*, "burgomaster" or the like[38], is identical with the *rabiānum* which stands for "sheikh". The translation "burgomaster" can be applied when the settlement headed by the *rabiānum* is sedentary. The "sheikhs", just mentioned, are often linked to specific localities, where they may have been resident for at least part of the year.

We shall not discuss in full the OB "burgomaster" despite the fact that the latest discussion dates back to 1917 (A. Walther, *Das altbabylonische Gerichtswesen*, p. 107ff.). Only three aspects of this office will interest us here: the existence of a pair of burgomasters (A), the rotation of this office (B), the relation between *r.* and GÌR.NITA in the texts from the Diyala region (C); see below, 2.

I could not detect the precise occupation of the *rabiānum* of a river (district); this unique title is studied below sub 3.

1. *The word rabiānum*

a. Dialectal forms

In OB texts, the word for "burgomaster" is written in three ways: mostly *ra-bi-a-nu-um*, rarely *ra*-BI-*nu-um*, and *ra-ba-nu-um* in OB Elam.

The writing *ra-bi-a-nu-um* occurs everywhere, even in the texts from Mari (Yaḫdun-Lim inscription V:10; see Dossin, *Syria* 32 16) and the Diyala region (Simmons, *JCS* 14, 1960, 28 No. 60:8, see Goetze, *Sumer* 14, 1958, p. 10 fn. 5). The dialects

[38] In contradistinction to the *rabiānum*, a *ḫazannum* was occasionally appointed by the king (Sippar: Oppenheim, *JESHO* 10, 1967, 7; Talḫayum: Finet, *AIPHOS* 20, 1973, 233). He was head of the guards.

of these areas express *i*+*a*/*ā* as *ê*; actually, one text from Ischchālī has the word *ra*-BI-*nu-um* (= *ra-bé-nu-um*), Lutz, *UCP* X/1, 1931, 179 No. 108:1, but another text offers [*ra*]-*bi-a-nu-um*, *ibid.* 182 No.109:25[39]. Here, *ra-bi-a-nu-um* is a writing dictated by scribal tradition, as was shown for similar cases in the Mari texts by W. G. Lambert (*CRRAI* XV [Liège], 1967, 31 ff.).

It is far more difficult to explain the exceptional *ra*-BI-*nu-um* in texts outside Mari and the Diyala region: twice in texts from Kish, viz. Simmons, *JCS* 15, 1961, 52 No. 120:20 (the same man is *ra-bi-a-nu-um* in Lutz, *UCP* X/3, 1932, 211 No. 6:16, 214 No. 6:22), and Rutten, *RA* 54, 1960, 36 No. 38:15. Twice in one and the same text from "Larsa", Scheil, *RA* 12, 1915, 201 rev. 1-2 (= *HG* 6 1614); once in a text from Sippar (according to Kupper, *Nomades* 87), *PBS* 8/2 230:15.

[*Addition*: We see at the head of two lists of witnesses (mostly the same persons) *Sin-māgir ra-bi-a-nu-um*, A. 32065:5 (Chicago; unpubl.), and *Sin-māgir ra-BI-nu-um*, Boson, *Aegyptus* 22, 1942, 267 rev. 4. From Southern Babylonia. Time: Hammurabi.]

There are a few texts, where *ra-bi-nu* may be a simple mistake for *ra-bi-*<*a*>*-nu*: kišib *ra-bi-nu* on *VAS* 13 20a, facing rev. 19-21, but PN *ra-bi-a-n*[*u*] rev. 3; *ra-bi-nu-um* in *CT* 47 68:16, but *ra-bi-an* GN 68a:19; see also Jean, *Tell Sifr* 53:24 as compared with 53a:24. Who corrected *ra-bi-*^{a}*-nu-um* in *CT* 47 16:18? Was it the scribe or the copyist?

I think the evidence is strong enough to postulate the existence of a form *rabinum* or *rabēnum* in addition to *rabiānum* in texts from Southern Babylonia, and Kish. The only really close parallel I know of occurs in a text from Larsa, HSM 7622:6 (G. F. Dole, *Partnership loans in the OB Period*, thesis Harvard University, 1965, p. 121), *ú*-MI-*nu* for *ummiānu* "creditor". This atypical writing (not even *um*-MI-*nu*) has an authentic flavor and may grant us some insight into the pronunciation of Old Babylonian at that time in "Larsa". Cf. (in similar context) *um-me-nu-um* (*MDP* 22 No. 22:9) as against *um-ma-a-nu*, *um-ma-na* (*MDP* 23 No. 270:5, 7) in texts from Elam, but see below my fn. 42.

It is by no means easy to explain these forms *ra*-BI-*nu-um* and *ú*-MI-*nu*. First of all, does BI (and MI) stand for *bé* (and *mé*), or simply for *bi* (and *mi*)? Only in texts from Mari and the Diyala region the reading *ra-bé-nu-um* could be certain, because the contraction *i*+*ā* = *ê* is often attested in those texts (von Soden, *GAG* §16k; Finet, *ALM* p. 8-10 §6; Lambert, *CRRAI* XV [Liège] 30 ff. For Shemshara, see Bottéro, *OR* NS 29, 1960, 235 (ref. Prof. Römer). Grammatical studies on the dialect of the Diyala texts have not yet been written, but the

[39] Goetze's restitution *a-na ra-bé-*[*nu-tim*] in *Sumer* 14 40 No. 17:6 is conjectural. maš.gán *ra*-BI-*nim* in M. DeJong Ellis, *Taxation and Land Revenues in the OB Period*, diss. Yale University 1969, p. 179 IM. 54476:1, may be pertinent.

dialect is fairly close to that of the Mari texts and the contraction under discussion occurs, e.g. *ta-aq-bé-em*, *JCS* 24 67 No. 70:5'; *ešer ṣí-pé-ti-ka*, *Sumer* 14 76 No. 49:5; cf. No. 32:22[40]; *an-ne-ta-an*, *VAS* 16 22:14.

In texts from Southern Babylonia, however, this contraction is extremely rare. Frankena collected some references (in : *Travels in the world of the Old Testament* (Studies M.A. Beek), 1974, 42 fn. 6), of which only one is relevant to us[41] : *ma-na-ḫa-tim ra-bé-tim*, *UET* 6 414:35 (see Gadd, *Iraq* 25 184), in a literary text from Ur. I have noted the suffixes *-ne-ti* (for *-niāti*), *BIN* 7 27:23 (= Walters, *Water for Larsa* 64 No. 45; possibly from Lagash; *BiOr* 28, 1971, 365), *-né-ši* (for *-niāši*), Boyer, *Contribution* 62 HE 208:8 ("Larsa"?), and the independent personal pronoun *ne-ti* (for *niāti*), *UET* 5 81:19 (from Ur); see also Mrs. Westenholz, *JNES* 33, 1974, 411*b*; é *i-bé-n*[*u-um*], *LIḪ* 2 101 II:3' (date list); *ḫiblētum* (vs. *ḫiblātum*), *AbBr* 4 134:17 (*vs.* 137:6), noted by son Soden, *GAG* §10d.

The unequivocal writing *ne-ti* particularly favors the reading *ra-bé-nu-um* in the texts from the South. The problem is : how can we account for such a by-form of *rabiānum* in Southern and Middle Babylonia? Furthermore, why is it so rare? We cannot even safely assume that the same phonetic law as in Mari, etc., was operative here. Theoretically, *rabēnum* could be a secondary development via *rabānum* (see below); see also Mayer, *AOATS* 2, 1971, 14-15 (ref. Prof. Römer).

The heavy veil of scribal tradition and customs, thrown over the living OB language (Kraus, *Vom mesopotamischen Menschen* ..., 1973, 32-34), and "the inscrutable mask of 'correct' orthography" (Postgate, *BiOr* 31 274*b*) renders elusive any attempt to solve this problem.

The word "burgomaster" could be written in a third way : *ra-ba-nu-um*. The mss. groups BGI and CDH of the foundation inscription of Yaḫdun-Lim offer this form as a variant of *ra-bi-a-nu-um* in V:10 (*Syria* 32 21). The word lives on as an Akkadogram in a MB Sumerian inscription published by Sollberger, *AOS* 53, 1968, 192 No. 1:11. The PN *Ra-ba-nu-um*, *Ra-ba-a-nu-um* in OB texts from Kish (Rutten, *RA* 54, 1960, 150*b*) could be pertinent; for the PN *Rabiānum*, see below p. 85.

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[40] Traditional writings like *an-ni-a-am* and *le-qí-a-ma* occur in these same letters. We find in some of the Tell Harmal letters published in *Sumer* 14 deviant forms : *i-di-nu-na-a-ši* (No. 28:14), *tu*^{l}*-re-qa-na-ti-ma* (No. 37:14,); contrast *šu-bi-la-(an-)né-ši* (No. 17:14, 22). Influence of the OB dialect of Elam? Cf. my fn. 42.

[41] *AbBr* 1 29 is from the North in view of Itūr-Mer in the greeting formula. *TIM* 2 12 is from the Diyala region and the contraction needs not surprise us here. The other texts are *TIM* 2 44 (unknown provenience) and *CT* 48 17 (Sippar).
Prof. Veenhof mentioned to me *ta-aq-bé-nim*, *AbBr* 1 81:8, and *ta-ra-aš-še*$_{20}$(ŠI)*-em*, *ibid.* 122:18.

In OB texts from Elam this form is used exclusively: in texts dated to Adda-ḫušu's time (*MDP* 10 No. 73:6, 79:4) and Šir[ukduḫ]'s time (*MDP* 28 No. 541:5-6). The contraction $i+\bar{a} = \hat{a}$ (and $i+a = a$) is well-attested in OB Elam, see E. Salonen, *Studia Orientalia* 27/1, 1962, 84-85[42]; contrast *an-na-a-am*, *MDP* 18 242:4, with *an-né-e-em* in the Mari texts and *an-ni-a-am* in "scribal" OB; compare the suffix in *ik-šu-da-na-a-ti*, *MDP* 18 237:16, with *-nēti* in Mari and elsewhere (see above) and "normal" *-ni-a-ti*.

It is well-known that this contraction is the rule in Babylonian from MB on (*rabiam* > *rabâm*; *dariāti* > *darâti*) and is occasionally attested in OB, cf. W. G. Lambert, *CRRAI* XV [Liège] 37.

b. The suffix *-ānum*

The structure of the word *rabiānum* seems to fit into the well-known type adjective + suffix *-ānum*.

This suffix, amply attested in OB and MA, and productive in juridical contexts[43], has an individualizing function, see Landsberger, *ZA* 41, 1933, 116 Anm.; Goetze, *Language* 22, 1946, 128. Von Soden, *GAG* §56r, explains *rabiānum* as "bestimmter Grosser, Bürgermeister".

The first element of our word can be connected with the substantive *rabium* (*rabûm*), meaning "leader, grand", or the like, in some formulaic contexts:

This word occurs already in a bilingual inscription of Shulgi, as an Akkadogram in Sumerian context in the sequence: lú.gal (: *ša-ar-ru-um*), in (: *e-nu-um*), ì.in.si (: *i-ši-a-ku-um*), ra.bu.um (: *ra-bu-um*); van Dijk, *Sumer* 11, 1955, 110 and Plate XVI No. 10:18-19. Van Dijk, *ZA* 55, 1962, 271, translates: "König ... en-Priester, ... Ensi ... Stadtoberhaupt".

It would be most welcome if we could prove a continuous tradition between this formula and that of the Yaḫdun-Lim foundation inscription, V:8-10, with the sequence *šarrum - šakkanakkum - rabiānum* (*Syria* 32 16); the other Yaḫdun-Lim inscription offers lugal - ensí (*RA* 33, 1936, 52 III:8). The equations [*rab*]*-ba-nu* = *ru-bu-u* (Explicit Malku I:33; Anne Kilmer, *JAOS* 83 433), [*rab*]*-ba-a-nu* = *ra-a-*[*bu-u*] (*JAOS* 83 439 E:4) are late and cannot be used here as evidence.

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[42] As E. Salonen, p. 85, duly notes, the *MDP* texts occasionally display the contraction $i+\bar{a} > \hat{e}$, in *um-me-nu-um*, cited above, and *me-sé-ku* (cf. *me-e-sà-a-ku*, *MDP* 18 241:6). Influence of the dialect of Eshnunna? Cf. my fn. 40.
Edzard, *BiOr* 21, 1964, 194-5, noted some other irregularities in the OB of Elam, which he partly explained as "von einem östlichen babylonischen Randdialekt ausgegangen".

[43] Even in Ugaritic: *'urubānu* "garante" and *'uṯriyānu* "successore" (Liverani, *RSO* 38, 1963, 151).

This Akkadian word *rabûm* in a Sumerian context is striking and telling. It shows that *rabûm*, as *puḫrum*, were recent Akkadian loanwords in Neo-Sumerian used by speakers, whose native language was Akkadian (see Falkenstein, *Genava* NS 8, 1960, 312-313, and Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader*, 1970, 91-93 §37. Cf. already Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, 1917, 46).

This word *rabûm* does not occur frequently in OB texts. Von Soden, *AHw* 938*a* mng. 7, lists most of the refs, only in formulaic phrases and mostly in the series *ekallum - kabtum - rabium* "palace - important person - *leader*" (see *CAD* K 27*b*, 4.a; correct "*rabiṣam*" into *rabiam*). Grant, *Smith College Documents*, 1918, 27 No. 269, contains a clausula about unjustly treated people (*ḫablum u ḫabiltum*) "who may apply to the king or the *leader*" (*ša šarram u ra-bi-a-am imaḫḫaru*), lines 21-22.

Not very clear is a.šà *ša ra-bi-im*, Goetze, *Sumer* 14, 1958, p. 28 No. 10:6, "the field of the *leader* (?)"; possibly a PN, as *Ra-bu-um* in the Tell Harmal text *JCS* 24 50 No. 20:2; cf. *Ra-bi-um* in *JCS* 14, 1960, 53 No. 83:12; *Ra-bi-ú-um*, *ARM* 7 165:15; *Ra-bu-ú-um*, *RA* 65, 1971, 189. *Rabi* in *ana ra-bi ki'am aqbi* "to the ... I spoke as follows" (*TCL* 18 139:5) could be an abbreviation of a title like *rabi Amurrim*, to be studied by Frankena (see *AbBr* 6 p. 94 note ad No. 146:9).

The expression *ra-ab-bu-ut ma-tim* may occur two times in texts from Northern Mesopotamia, but in both instances *ma-tim* is not beyond doubts (Kupper, *ARM* 6 28:16; Laessøe, *Prelim. Report Shemshara* 61 SH. 874:15). Here, *rabûm* has an adjectival plural, like *šibūtum* "elders". This is an "infixed plural" (E. Reiner, *A Linguistic analysis of Akkadian*, 1966, 64) and shows that *rabûm* was formally treated as an adjective [44]. It is an adjective of the type *kabtum*, *damqum* (*GAG* §85d, end); the exceptional writing *ra-a-bi-a-nu-um* in *YOS* 8 1:6 (cf. Middle Babylonian *A-bi-ra-a-bi* in Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets* No. 201:4) represents an "abnormal plene writing", not unusual in OB Larsa (see lastly Aro, *OLZ* 66, 1971, 248-252) and does not mean that the element *rabi-* is an active participle like *rāgim-* in *ra-a-gi-ma-an-ni*, *MDP* 23 228:10 (with von Soden, *AHw* 942*b*, contra E. Salonen).

The nominal type adjective + *-ānum* is attested in the forms *qātil* (active participle) + *-ānum* and *qattāl* ("Gewohnheitsadjektiv") + *-ānum*. *Rabiānum* is

[44] Add Old Assyrian *ḫarmum* (plur. *ḫarrumūtum*) to Miss Reiner's list on p. 64 (ref. Prof. Veenhof) —. This infixed plural is also operational in the plural forms of the Stative, attested in *ra-ab-bu-ú*, *ra-ab-bi-a*, *rab-ba-a*, cited by von Soden, *AHw* 934*b*, sub *rabbû(m)* "sehr gross"; cf. *ṣeḫḫerū* / *ṣeḫḫerā*, etc., in *CAD* Ṣ 175, sub *ṣeḫḫerūtu* adj. plur., mng. 1.b, with discussion on p. 176. The form *ṣe-eḫ-ḫe-re-ku* in *ištu ṣeḫḫerēku* "since I was young" (Frankena: "sehr jung"), *AbBr* 3 16+17:13, poses a problem, especially when compared with *ištu ṣeḫrēku*, *AbBr* 3 22:22. Prof. Veenhof draws my attention to *a-li ṣa-ḫa-ru-ti* (*RA* 35 46 No. 18:3) as compared with *a-li ṣa-aḫ-ru-ti* (*RA* 35 49 No. 28:2) on the Early-OB liver models from Mari.

to this rule an embarrassing exception; I hesitate to rank this word with *šakrānum* "drunkard" and *rēmēnum* "merciful", adduced by Goetze, *Language*, 22, 1946, 129, as "rare cases".

We should consider *šarrāq(um)* and *rabi(um)* as substantives which can be augmented with the element *-ānum*. There is no doubt that *rabium* in the Shulgi inscription and elsewhere (see above) is a substantive; the plural ending *-ūtu* needs not surprise us (E. Reiner, *op. cit.*, p. 63-4).

A Leiden letter published by Frankena offers a new and nice parallel to the pair *rabium - rabiānum*: in *AbBr* 3 18:24-25, the writer says to the powerful Šu-Amurrum *ina ālīka qá-qá-da-nu-um attāma* "in your town, you are the chief". Now, simple *qaqqadum* meaning "head, leader, authority" occurs, albeit rarely, in OB texts. In two texts this term is connected with "the town", as is *qaqqadānum* in the text just quoted :

1) *AbBr* 1 36:18-20 *ina ālīka ka-qa-ad kārim* [x x] x [x *l*]*i-šu attāma* "In your town, you are the head of the harbor [...] ...". Von Soden's translation "der das erste Wort hat" (*AHw* 900*a*, 8.b) is apparently inspired by Landsberger's observations on the *qaqqad rēdîm* (*JCS* 9, 1955, 122 fn. 9), possibly even by recollections of the Roman *princeps senatus*.

2) Oppenheim quotes the crown witness for our case: di.KUD.meš *ša* GN *ù* lú.meš *qá-aq-qá-da-at* uri.ki "the judges of Larsa and the leaders of the city", Speleers, *Recueil* No. 262:8 (not in *AH*w).

In the Mari texts, cited by von Soden, mng. 4.b., *qaqqadātum* means "notables" (Finet, *ARMT* 15 246) or "leaders" (Oppenheim, *JNES* 13, 1954, 144 on *ARM* 5 2:5'), not "persons" (*AHw*), as occasionally in Old Assyrian, see Veenhof, *Old Assyrian Trade*, 1972, 265-6).

Qaqqadum meaning "head, leader", or the like, was apparently not an official title, as is clear from *qá-qá-ad* giš.SAR "the head of the garden", Kraus, *AbBr* 5 219 rev. 6'.

I think it is obvious that *qaqqadānum* in *AbBr* 3 18:24 (Frankena : "eine Persönlichkeit von Einfluss"; von Soden, *AHw* s.v. : "Mann von Einfluss") is our word *qaqqadum*, augmented with the element *-ānum* under discussion here: *the* head or leader.

One cannot escape the impression that this element has a superlative function here. A similar function is not excluded for *rabiānum vis-à-vis rabûm*. This is in line with the second of the three functions ascribed to *-ān* in Primitive Semitic by Goetze, *Language* 22 130 :

1. out of abstract nouns, it creates concrete nouns,

2. with concrete nouns, it marks the individual person or object as opposed to a class,

3. with adjectives, it ascribes the quality that the adjective denotes to a specific individual.

Perusal of Gelb's *MAD* 3 did not yield any suffix *-ānum* of the type discussed above[45]. This *could* mean that only after the Ur III period this suffix came into use. In this light, it seems reasonable to suppose that earlier *rabûm* (in the Shulgi inscription) was replaced by *rabiānum* (in the Yaḫdun-Lim inscription). Older *rabûm* lived on only in some frozen combinations.

2. "*Burgomaster*"

A) Occasionally, we meet with a pair of burgomasters functioning in the same locality. We are not concerned here with texts where occur two or more burgomasters of different settlements, whose presence in specific legal or administrative cases may have been requested; this may be the case in Goetze, *Studies Landsberger* (*AS* 16), 1965, 211:12; Scheil, *RA* 12, 1915, 201 rev. 1-2 (= *HG* 6 1614); *YOS* 13 417:11-12; *CT* 48 44:9, 22, 23; *CT* 45 9:19, 27.

A real pair of burgomasters are the duo, Ili-awēlim and Nabium-mālik, attested in an archive of unknown provenience[46]. Both are dubbed *rabiānum* in *TLB* 1 207:15-18 (as the only witnesses); burgomaster Ili-awēlim is the first of two witnesses in Riftin No. 41:13; burgomaster Nabium-mālik is first witness in MAH 15934:14 (Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, II 77). Both men are named together without any title in MAH 15958:20-21 as the first witnesses (Szlechter, *ibidem*, p. 65). These texts are dated to Samsu-iluna years 26-28.

The city of Kish seems to have had two burgomasters at the same time, judging from *VAS* 16 119 at face value: Sin-išmeanni and Gimil-Marduk.

VAS 18 18 (= Klengel, *JCS* 23, 1970, 124-7) poses a problem. Here, Šēlebu is in the list of witnesses *rabiān* dumu.meš Za.gìn.na^{ki} (38); two lines further on we come across Kurû *ra-bi-a-nu* as witness in a list of six individuals, summarized as 6 lú.igi dumu.meš Za.gìn.na^{ki} (45). Šēlebu precedes this list and was apparently *the* burgomaster of Zaginna. [See now Wilcke, *WdO* 8, 1976, 270 n. 25, for this GN.]

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[45] To kept apart from the suffix *-ānum* / *-annum* (in: *ḫazannum*) discussed by Gelb, *Glossa* 2, 1968, 101. — I did not take into consideration *ummānum* "craftsman", *MAD* 3 45. Read in Limet, *Étude de documents de la période d'Agadé*, 1973, PUL 21 rev. 21 *Ra-bí-a-lí*. The alternative reading *ra-bí-a-ni* (Limet, p. 40 note) is less probable.

[46] Cfr. Leemans, *JESHO* 2, 1959, 326-7.

How could we explain the presence of two burgomasters within one restricted area or town?

There is one interesting lead : the four stamped bricks from Ishan Dhahāk, eighteen miles north-east of Kish, published by Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* I, 1924, 40 (translit. only): [1] *GA/BI-NI/IR-ma-bi-de-e* [2] dumu *Ma-sa-lum* [3] *ra-bi-an* [4] *ba-ab-ti-šu* [5] *i-na e-mu-gi-šu* [6] *dūram ša Mu-ta-lu*^{ki} [7] *i-pu-uš* "PN_1, son of PN_2, alderman of his ward, built the wall of Mutalu by his own means". Mutalu is known from a text recording townships in the Diyala region, YBC 5198:7 (Goetze, *JCS* 4, 1950, 108 with fn. 94). *Bābtum* is a "ward" of a city, but a text published by I. J. Gelb shows that in an early OB list of Amorites it stands for "section", apparently of a tribal grouping (Gelb, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 43*b*; cf. Rowton, *OR* NS 42 256). It is not far-fetched to assume that these "small encampments" (Gelb) were headed by a *rabiānum* "sheikh" and that particular "sections", consolidated as "wards" of a settlement, could have their own *rabiānum*, now "alderman" [47].

This explains the existence of more than one burgomaster in a town.

It is conceivable that a town had several aldermen (*rabiānum*), headed by *the* burgomaster (*rabiānum*) of the town. Such a construction could explain the existence of the two clearly distinct *rabiānu*s in Zaginna, discussed above, but this solution is hardly convincing.

B) The most important contribution to the elucidation of the office of *rabiānum* since Walther's book, was the discovery by Landsberger, that in *Ṣupur-Šubula* this office may have rotated year by year among the elders (*JCS* 9, 1955, 125-127 with note 44).

This seems not to have been the general custom. *Aḫum-ṭābum* was burgomaster of *Dilbat* (?) for several successive years (see Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, II 109 fn. 17; confirmed by additional evidence in *YOS* 13 [48]).

Ili-ippalsam, son of Qīšti-Erra, was burgomaster of *Kutalla* (= Tell Sifr) between Samsu-iluna 4 (Jean, *Tell Sifr* 65:22) and Samsu-iluna 8 (*ibid.* 82a:14). He is also attested as burgomaster in *Tell Sifr* 66:16 (Sams. 4), 71:14, 25 (Sams. 5), 75a:19,

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[47] In other times and circumstances PA $dag_4.gi_4.a$ (*UET* 5 214:4-5; *VAS* 18 1:5, 29; 3NT 225:1; Speleers, *Recueil* 246:1', *TCL* 11 174 V. 39; Boyer, *CHJ* HE.120:27; *CT* 48 64:5. In Mari: Bottéro, *ARMT* 7 p. 226. There are more refs., which I did not note down). Cf. *YOS* 12 227:36 (*CAD* K 44a).
Note the interesting remark by N. N. Al-Kasab, *Die Nomadenansiedlung in der Iraqischen Jezira*, 1966, 62: "Bemerkenswert ist bei allen Neusiedlungen, dass an der Tradition, in Sippen zu siedlen, festgehalten wird". Cf. Abb. 5, "Ummauerung einer Sippen-Gehöftgruppe".

[48] *VAS* 7 48:10, seal (Ad 2), *VAS* 7 49:13, seal (Ad 5), *YOS* 13 79:5, 223:13, 352:24, *VAS* 7 60:12 (Ad 34), *YOS* 13 47:6 (Ad 36), 479:3 (Ad 37), 26:5, [50:12] (Aṣ 1).

76:18 (Sams. 6), 78:14, 79:16' (Sams. 7), 80:19, 81:10' (Sams. 8), 85:17 (26.XI Rīm-Sin II). See already Walther, *Gerichtswesen* 111-116. Ili-ippalsam was preceeded by his father as burgomaster[49].

The career of *Qīšti-Erra*, son of Sin-ublam (cf. seal inscr. on *Tell Sifr* 53) is documented as follows.

Date	Title	Text
XII, 34	*rabiānum*	35:29
V, 35	—	38:16
IX, 35	dumu *rabi sikkatum*	39:27
VI, 36	nu.bànda PA	43:25
VIII, 37	nu.bànda uru(?)	45:28
VIII, 38(*sic*)	*rabi sikkati*	45a:28
VI, 41	*rabi*[...]	49:17
VI, 41	x	49a:17
VIII, 41	*rabiānum*	53:24
X, 41	*rabiān*	51:19
VI, 42	*rabiānum*	55:18
X, 42	dumu *rabi sikkatim*	57:17
X, 42	*rabi sikkatim*	56:23
XI,—	*rabi sikkatum*	59:25-6
II, Si 4	—	64:21
VII, Si [.]	*rabiānum*	Warka 75:5

It is no wonder that Schorr, *VAB* 5 p. 341 note c, and Walther, *Gerichtswesen* 113, 121, suggested that we have here two or three words for one and the same office. Note dub.sar *si-ka-tim* in *Tell Sifr* 33:6. Professor Kraus points out to me that the varied career of Qīšti-Erra actually could be used as evidence for the rotation of the office of burgomaster in Kutalla, at that time.

The other burgomasters, known from Jean, *Tell Sifr*, occur in lists of witnesses not known from other Tell Sifr texts: Sin-imguranni, 58:33 (Hamm. 41) and Abi-lūmur, 72:19, 73:21, 74:23 (all Sams. 6).

For *Sippar*, it is still impossible to draw up a more or less complete list of burgomasters. Moreover, the picture is blurred by the fact that some of those called *rabiānum* in the Sippar texts are actually burgomaster of Ḫalḫalla. *Sin-iddinam* was burgomaster of Sippar in Hamm. 6 (*CT* 48 3:13) and Hamm. 11

[49] Ili-ippalsam, before being burgomaster, was PA.PA in a text dated 1.IV Samsu-iluna 4 (Jean, *Tell Sifr* 67:20, 67a:29). No occupation is mentioned in *Tell Sifr* 64:22, dated 12.II of the same year. From 15.VI on, he is attested as burgomaster (*Tell Sifr* 65:22).

(*CT* 47 31:15, 35); he is "burgomaster" (no GN added) in *VAS* 8 102:4 (Hamm. 4). However, Nūr-Šamaš was "burgomaster" (no GN added) in Hamm. 9 (*CT* 48 70:11 with seal impr. 2). We cannot but agree with Mrs. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 1975, 60, where she says "The office seems to be held for only one year, but might be held several times".

C) *Rabiānum* and GÌR.NITA are clearly distinct offices in the texts from Larsa and Sippar (Walther, *Gerichtswesen* 132). The same may be true for the other cities of Babylonia.

In the Diyala region the situation may have been different. Studying the titles of two individuals in the texts published up till now, one gets the impression that GÌR.NITA is the (artificial?) Sumerogram for *rabiānum*:

1. *Igeḫluma* (cfr. Abdul Kareem Abdullah, *Sumer* 23, 1967, p. 192).

   ^{p}*I-gi-iḫ-lu-ma ra-bi-a-nu ša Za-ra-lu-lu*^{ki}, Simmons, *JCS* 14, 1960, 28 No. 60:8 (no date); see already Goetze, *Sumer* 14, 1958, p. 10 note 5.

   IGI *I-ge-e-eḫ-lu-ma* [GÌ]R.NITA *Za-ra-lu-lu*^{ki} *ù ši-bu-ut a-li-šu*, M. DeJong Ellis, *JCS* 26, 1974, 152 IM 52642:21 (Text D).

2. *Tutub-māgir* (cfr. Goetze, *Sumer* 14 p. 5-6 and p. 11-12 note 19).

   a-na Tu-tu-ub^{ki}*-ma-gir* GÌR.NITA *Ša-du-up-pé-e-em*, Goetze, *Sumer* 14 Plate 1 No. 1:15, cf. 6 (letter).

   i-nu-ma a-na ra-bé-[*nu-tim*] lugal *ú-wa-e-ru-*[*ka*], Goetze, *Sumer* 14 Plate 10 No. 17:6-7, after Goetze, p. 40-41 (letter addressed to Tutub-māgir).

None of these texts is dated and we readily admit that there is no conclusive evidence for an equation GÌR.NITA = *rabiānum*.

In the Laws of Eshnunna, the title *rabiānum* is not attested. Section 50 offers the sequence *šumma* GÌR.NITA *ša-pir*$_6$(NAM) íd *bēl tērtim mala ibaššû* .... "If a GÌR.NITA, a head of a river district, or whatever official there may be..." Goetze, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, 1956, 127, comments: "The *šakkanakkum* is in Old Babylonian times the head of the royal administration in a town, the local representative of the king, his «viceregent»". This may be true for the GÌR.NITA = *šakkanakkum* in Babylonia proper [50].

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[50] Cf. R. Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, 1969, 75; Leemans, *Symbolae David* II, 1968, 125-6 note 5 (correct on p. 126 *TLB* I 245, 259 into 243, 250).
In the texts from Iščālī, the GÌR.NITA occurs very often as the first witness; see simply the refs. given by Lutz, *UCP* X/1, 1931, p. 54ff., under Ali-bānišu (add *TIM* 5 21:23), Sin-muballiṭ, Šamaš-nāṣir (add *TIM* 3 126:10), Šumu-libši (add Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, p. 32 MAH 16163A:13).

From *Sumer* 14 No. 17:6-7, cited above, it becomes clear that the king had installed Tutub-māgir in his office of as burg[omaster]. Elsewhere, his predecessors are called "*šakkanakku šarrim*", "the royal governor" (IM 51652, unpublished; transcription and translation Goetze, *Sumer* 14 p. 11-12 note 19).

In the OB letter (?) *TIM* 2 16 Šamaš-māgir, *šatammum* (š[à.t]am) of Diniktum (5) and Ipqu-Ištar, the GÌR.NITA of Diniktum[51] are quarreling. Šamaš-māgir says to Ipqu-Ištar "I can render a verdict over you among (?) twenty burgomasters who are like you" (*a-na-ku i-na 20 ra-bi-a-ni* [*š*]*a ki-ma ka-a-ti lu-di-in-ka*, 45-46). Ipqu-Ištar retorts: "And I can render a verdict over you among (?) one hundred *šatammums* who are like you" (*ù a-na-ku i-na* 1 *me-at* šà.tam.e.ne *ša ki-ma ka-a-ti lu-di-in-ka*, 48-49; cf. 40-41).

This parallelism GÌR.NITA — 20 burgomasters and šà.tam — 100 *šatammums* gives us one more indication in favor of the equation GÌR.NITA = *rabiānum* in the Diyala region.

3. **rabiān nārim*

A votive inscription dating to the time of Hammurabi, probably found in Abu Habba = Sippar (Wiseman apud Kupper, *Nomades* 176 fn. 2), offers the unique title *rabiān* id G[N]. This text was published by King as *LIḪ* I 66; for photographical reproductions, see Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, third edition, 1908, frontispiece; Strommenger-Hirmer, *Fünf Jahrtausende Mesopotamien*, 1962, Abb. 161; British Museum postcard WA 23). The dedicant, Itūr-ašdum, calls himself *ra-bi-a-an* id *Z*[*i-lá-ku* (?)] dumu *Šu-ba*-AN.A[N.ke$_4$][52], "*rabiānum* of (the district) River Silakku (?), son of Šubā-ilān" (II:4-6).

This title of Itūr-ašdum reminds us of *šāpir nārim*, "der Beamte, der den betreffenden Kanal und die anliegenden Felder zu verwalten hat", as already Ungnad, *VAB* 6, 1914, No. 211 Anm. *e* zur Übersetzung, rightly observed (cf. the *šāpir mātim*, an official who may have had the same duties)[53].

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[51] Line 8; written *Ip-qú-*^{d}INANNA. Cfr. *Ip-qú-Ištar* GÌR.NITA in *TIM* 2 12:31 and *Ip-qú-Ištar* GÌR.NITA *ša* uru *Di-ni-ik-tim* in *TIM* 1 28:39.

[52] The right side of the second column is broken off and my restorations are tentative. *Ḫa-am-mu-r*[*a-bi*], II:2, and *I-túr-aš-d*[*u-um*], II:4, show that there is enough room for the restored signs. lá and ku can be very small, cf. I:7, II:8. For the Silakku river, see the literature mentioned in *JCS* 25, 1973, 224 with fn. 6 (mostly in Sippar texts); cf. the PN *Si-la-ak-ku-um-mi*, *YOS* 13 200:11, dumu-^{id} Zi-lá-ku, *TCL* 1 142:19, seal inscr. For the demon Silakku, see E. Reiner, *Šurpu*, 1958, 56, on III:75.

[53] The meaning "river district" for *nārum* seems to be attested in *VAS* 16 174:24, *maḫar na-ri ka-li-š*[*a*] (?), and *BIN* 7 25:6, id.da *ša PN* (cf. Walters, *Water for Larsa* 61 No. 44). See also K.R. Veenhof, *Mesopotamië. Het land en het water*, 1974, p. 20, 30 fn. 69.

In the Diyala region the head of a river district is named *ša-pir*$_6$(NAM) *nārim* (id) in the Laws of Eshnunna, where he is mentioned after the *rabiānum* (?) (GÌR.NITA), § 50 B iv 6. An archive from the Diyala region makes mention of a *a-bi na-ri-im* (in the genitive), A. 7552:8 (Rowton, *JCS* 21, 1967, 271*a*), in the plural *ab-b*[*i*] *na-ri-im* (in the genitive), A. 7542:16 (Rowton, *Iraq* 31, 1969, 73), "senior canal inspectors" (Rowton).

It is impossible to say what *rabiānum* and *abum*, rare words as they are in this context, exactly mean. One gets he vague impression that the *šāpir nārim* fits into the officialdom of a centralized, well-organized state, whereas *rabiānum* and *abum* seem to be local titles.

We could, however, approach this problem from another angle.

It is rewarding to compare this inscription *LIḪ* I 66 with the text on "l'Adorant de Larsa" (Sollberger, *Iraq* 31, 1969, 92 and Plate X*a*; E. Porada, *Studies A. L. Oppenheim*, 1964, 160 Fig. 6 and fn. 1). According to this inscription Lú-Nanna dedicates the statuette "for the life of Hammurabi, the king of Babylon", to Amurrum. (^{d}MAR.TU), his god. Now, *LIḪ* I 66 was dedicated to Ašrātum, the consort of Amurrum (Kupper, *L'Iconographie du dieu Amurru*, 1961, p. 61-62 and p. 59 fn. 3). So these two inscriptions contain dedications to two gods that are closely associated with each other and with the steppe to the North (Kupper, p. 62-63). "L'Adorant de Larsa", however, does not call Hammurabi "king of the Amorites", as *LIḪ* I 66 does. There could be two reasons for the absence of this royal title: *a.* this statuette dates from before the destruction of the walls of Mari and Malgium, since it was only after this exploit that Hammurabi adopted the title "king of (all) the Amorites" [54].

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[54] As shown in my unpublished paper "The Royal Title Lugal da.ga.an kur MAR.TU", read in Chicago on November 9, 1973 (see *JAOS* 94, 1974, 140). Abstract: "Hammurabi and Ammi-ditana called themselves "king over the entire land of the Amorites". Hallo and van Driel rightly observed that royal titles were adopted at specific occasions. Which events caused Hammurabi to assume this title? A close investigation of the titles of this king makes it highly probable that he took this title somewhere between years 32 and 35 of his reign. Only the conquest of Mari and Malgium (year 34) can have given the occasion to assume this title".

This theory was mainly based on the following considerations: Hammurabi bears the title lugal da.ga.an kur MAR.TU in two royal inscriptions:

1. His inscription on the completion of the building of E-mete-ursag at Kish, see Borger, *OR* NS 27, 1958, 407 = Sollberger-Kupper, *IRSA* 216 IV C 6 i, who reject Hallo's objections against the reconstruction of the text by Borger, *BiOr* 18, 1961, 4*b*. The relevant lines run ^{1}*ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi* ^{2}lugal kalag.ga ^{3} lugal ká.dingir.ra^{ki} ^{4}lugal da.ga.an kur MAR.TU ^{5}lugal ke.en.gi.ki.uri.ke$_4$ "Hammurabi, the mighty king, the king of Babylon, the king of the totality of the Amurrum-land, the king of Sumer and Akkad". For da.ga.an "totality", see Sjöberg, *OR* NS 35, 1966, 296, and Falkenstein, *Baghdad.Mitt.* 3, 1964, 31 on line 18.

   The building of E-mete-ursag is commemorated in year name 36 of Hammurabi. This provides

The bold theory concerning the identity of Itūr-ašdum in *LIḪ* I 66, as put forward by Kupper and Sollberger, *IRSA* 219 note 1 on IV C 6 o, could favor this alternative; *b.* this title in *LIḪ* I 66 has something to do with the identity of the dedicant and his relationship to the king — in any case the title "king of the Amorites" has nothing to do with the god of the first line (this contra J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32 31-32). Hallo, *JNES* 31, 1972, 88, studied an atypical epithet of Amar-Sin on the seal inscription of Lugal-engardu, and observed: "the allusion of this royal role must be motivated by the seal owner's position": Lugal-engardu was the chief officer of the temple of Inanna at Nippur, and bestows upon Amar-Sin the epithet "beloved of Inanna". If this principle obtains also for *LIḪ* I 66, we have to ask what Hammurabi as "king of the Amorites" (col. II:3) meant to Itūr-ašdum in particular. Did he supervise or control the "Amorites" in the River S[ilakku (?)] area?[55]

For the time being, there is no sufficient reason to connect our Itūr-ašdum with Itūr-ašdum, the burgomaster (*rabiānum*) of Ḫalḫalla (close to Sippar), attested in a text from Hammurabi's time (*CT* 48 19:11).

There is no proof to identify the governor of Naḫur, well-known from the Mari texts, with our man (so Sollberger and Kupper, *loc. cit.*).

4. "*chieftain, sheikh*"

The earliest occurrence of *rabiānum*, known to me, is in the Early-OB Isin text *BIN* 9 199, recording a delivery of leather by "*PN ra-bí-a-nu-um-ma ù* PN_2 MAR.TU", see Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, 1966, 24. The word means here probably "sheikh", Buccellati, p. 309.

The PN *Rabiānum* (*Ra-bi-a-nu-um*) occurs on an unnumbered tablet in the de Liagre Böhl Collection dating to Sumu-la-el's time (LB "1101" line 4; belongs to *BIN* 2 74), and, perhaps, in *CT* 48 19 rev. 19. This PN reminds us of the widely attested PN *Sugāgum*, another word for a tribal chief (Kupper, *Nomades* 19; there are now more refs.).

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us with a *terminus post quem*, if not *tempus quo*, for our inscription: this temple was built in his 35th year.

2. BM 64265 (unpublished; translation *IRSA* 218 IV C 6 l) "[roi] fort, roi de Babylone, roi de tout le pays Martu". The wording of this inscription is partly identical with year name 36 (*IRSA*, note *c*).

[55] H. de Genouillac, *PRAK* I p. 34 Inv. B. 144 "Fragment d'enveloppe avec sceau dédié à un roi dans le nom duquel entre l'élément *bi*, «roi de l'Ouest», par un certain [....] bí-^{d}[....]". Kupper, *Nomades* p. 176 fn. 2 seems to suggest that the royal name in this text from Kish could be Hammura*bi*. I propose to modify de Genouillac's last statement into "par un certain [... *ra*]-*bí-an* [...]".

In the following instances, the word is always combined with a tribal name:

MDOG 15, 1902, 13 in the title *rabiān Rababē*. The text runs as follows: [1] *I-túr-*[d]utu [2] *ra-bí-an* [3] *Ra-ba-bí*.ke$_4$ [4] dumu *I-din-*dingir [5] ensí [6] ki.sur.ra^{ki} [7] ki.ÁG [d]utu [8] ù *An-nu-ni-tum* (= Thureau-Dangin, *VAB* 1 p. 152, IV).

An Itūr-Šamaš is known as "king" of Kisurra (Edzard, *ZZB* 136-7 fn. 720) and Sollberger-Kupper comment "il s'agit certainement du nôtre à un stade ultérieur de sa carrière", *IRSA* 254 ad IV L 1a. The inscription may palaeographically be dated to the times of Sumu-el, Nūr-Adad and Sin-iddinam (Edzard, p. 136 fn. 716).

The Rababû are known from a small archive of "a military-like company of river-fishermen" (Landsberger, *Date Palm* p. 57, I.3)[56] and uru *Ra-ba-ba-a-i*^{ki} in this archive (Grant, *Haverford Symposium*, 1938, 242 No. 9:4; cf. *BIN* 2 77:3) seems to refer to a settlement. This archive is dated in the later years of Samsuiluna. The tribe occurs in broken context in Legrain, *RA* 10 (1913) pl. V No. 84 rev. 4' ([...] *ša Ra-ba-bi-i*).

CT 48 83 contains the title *rabiān Amnān-Šadlaš*. This text runs as follows: "PN, son of PN_2, and the "house" of PN_3 are exempted from the corvee of the people of Šadlaš for/at the harvest (?) ...". The seal impression of this tablet is: [1] *Su-mu-*[d]utu [2] dumu *a-pil-*[d]EN.ZU [3] *ra-bi-a-an* [4] *Am-na-an-Ša-ad-la-áš*.

The *Amnān(um)* are a tribe who gave their name to a part of Sippar (Edzard, *Tell ed-Dēr* 19-20). In Mari, they belong to the "Benjaminites" (Kupper, *Nomades* 49-52); Baḫlukulim was lugal *Tu-ut-tu-ul*^{ki} *ù ma-at Am-na-ni-im*, *Syria* 32 14 III:6-7. Sin-kāšid and Ilum-gāmil of Uruk called themselves lugal *Am-na-nu-um* "king of the *Amnānum*" (Falkenstein, *Baghd. Mitt.* 2, 1963, 23; Kraus, *BiOr* 22, 1965, 292 fn. 24).

In the letter to Sin-muballiṭ, Anam mentions the Amnān-Yaḫrur (*Am-na-an-Ja-aḫ-ru-ur*), Falkenstein, *ibid.* p. 56ff., a fine parallel to our Amnān-Šadlaš. There are more instances where tribes have "double" names; see Malamat, *CRRAI* [Liège] XV, 1967, 138; Kraus *BiOr* 22 292 with fn. 23. A tribal name followed by a city name is, however, rare; the only parallel seems to be *Gungun-Zāban*^{ki} (*MDP* 10 21 No. 3:3, with Edzard, *ZZB* 102 fn. 490), for Zāban see Weidner, *AfO* 15 75-80. In later periods, "Aram" is often coupled with a GN, see Malamat in: *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D. J. Wiseman, 1973, 135. Another case in point is Ur-Kasdim according to Artzi apud Malamat, *Revue Biblique* 80, 1973, 87.

The Amnān-Šadlaš in *CT* 48 83 are apparently those Amnān tribesmen who

[56] It is known that Amorites, too, were involved in fishery (Buccellati, *Amorites* 250).

live or camp in or around the town Šadlaš. This town was discussed by F. Reschid, *Archiv des Nūršamaš*, 1965, 13 fn. 1. A treaty was concluded by Nērebtum and Šadlaš (not: Marad) according to an unpublished OB tablet from Ishchālī (A. 7894); for bibliography see Edzard *ZZB* 120 fn. 613. For Sumu-Amnānum, king of Šadlaš, see F. Rasheed, *Sumer* 23, 1969, 178 (Arabic part).

Another text from Sippar, too, mentions a man of Šadlaš (BM. 92657:5; courtesy A. L. Oppenheim); here as the owner of a house (d a é *Puzur-Akšak* lú *ša-ad-la-aš*^{ki}; time of Sin-muballiṭ).

A text from Kiš refers to a field which was given to the Šadlāšians (*a-na* erén *ša-ad-la-si-i*, *VAS* 18 18:8, see Klengel, *JCS* 23, 1970, 124). It is interesting to find these people far from their homes; in fact, *CT* 48 83 bearing the seal impression of the sheikh of the Amnān-Šadlaš seems to suggest that part of the population of Šadlaš led a nomadic life.

5. *rabiān* MAR.TU

In OB Proto-Lu, *ra-bi-a-nu-um* MAR.TU is listed after *ra-bi-a-nu-um* (*MSL* 12 33:22); note that a d . d a MAR.TU does not occur in *MSL* 12.

Dr. Robert Whiting Jr. kindly informs me that he has reconstructed a seal impression where Abda-el is named [*ra-bí*]-*an* [*A-mu-rí*]-*im* (TA 1930–T 757); see already Jacobsen, *OIP* 43, 1940, 145 Seal Legend no. 10. In a letter from Tell Asmar Dr. Whiting came across *ra-bi-*[*a-an*] *A-mu-ri-im*, TA 1930–T 710: 5'-6'. The impacts of this title should be studied in the light of other unpublished texts from Ešnunna, to be edited by Whiting. We refrain here from further comments.

There is an interesting inscription, almost forgotten among Assyriologists, which could provide us with one more reference for this title: the onyx vase, reportedly from Nippur, published by Fossey in *Babyloniaca* 4, 1911, 248-9 (with Plate V). This object bears a votive inscription and the dedicant is ^{4}[*Am-m*]*i* (?)-*iš-ta-mar* ^{5}[(x) x] -x-*da-ni-um* ^{6}[*ra-bí*]-*ą*(?)-*an* MAR.TU. Line 5 probably contains a gentilic (hardly [lú *D*]*i-da-ni-um*). It should be stressed that the reading of line 6 is by no means certain. Fossey read [d u m u *Ib-n*]*i*-^{d}MAR.TU, but NI is slightly different in the preceding line.

Three kings bore the title *rabiān* MAR.TU, "sheikh of the Amorites":

1. Zabaya of Larsa: *Za-ba-a-a ra-bí-an* MAR.TU d u m u *Sa-mi-um* (Birot, *Syria* 45, 1968, 243 No. 1). This is his only title on this short brick inscription. He is son of Samium, his predecessor on the throne, and brother of Gungunum, who succeeded him.

2. Abisarē of Larsa: *A-bí-sa-re-e ... ra-bí-a-nu-um*.MAR.TU.me.en "I am Abisarē ... sheikh of the Amorites" (*UET* 8 65 I.27'). It can neither be proved nor denied that Abisarē is a kinsman of Zabaya (Edzard, *ZZB* 108-109).

3. Sin-gāmil of Diniktum: [1] [d]EN.ZU-*ga-mi-il* [2] *ra-bí-an* MAR.TU [3] *ša Di-ni-ik-tim*[ki] [4] dumu [d]EN.ZU-*še-mi* (*Sumer* 2, 1946, 20 and Adams, *Land behind Baghdad*, 1965, 165 No. 851); see Kupper, *Nomades* 192-3. This Sin-gāmil could be identical with [d]EN.ZU-*ga-mil* lugal *Di-ni-ik-tim*[ki] in a letter from Mari, Dossin, *Syria* 33, 1956, 65 A.1314:19. Dossin, p. 68: "La différence de titre ne peut guère s'expliquer que par une ascension politique de Sin-gamil, ascension peut-être due à la protection et à l'aide du roi d'Alep". This is possible, of course, but (*a*) we should not stress lugal "king" too much (see Kraus, *CRRAI* XIX [Paris] p. 237), in particular when occurring in a letter; (*b*) the king could have had both titles at the time.
It is interesting that the title "sheikh of the Amorites" is found on a "baked well- or cistern-brick" (Adams, *op. cit.*) which provides us with a link with the life of the nomads ("Amorites") and offers a context in which Sin-gāmil's nomadic title is meaningful: did he build cisterns for the herdsmen?

For his interpretation of PA.PA.AN.MAR.TU in *VAS* 16 146:9 as *rabiān amurrim*, we have to await the explanation by Frankena in a forthcoming book; see provisionally *AbB* 6 p. 94, note.

6. *Excursus:* MAR.TU = [d]MAR.TU

A word should be said on the title GAL.AN.MAR.TU in *VAS* 9 142:6, borne by Nidnat-Sin.

CAD A/2 93*b*, sub *rabi amurri*, discussion section, reads these signs as GAL-*an* (= *rabiān*) *Amurrim*, here and in SH. 812:15 (Laessøe, *Preliminary Report*, 1959, 77). I prefer the traditional point of view, as voiced by Walther, *Gerichtswesen* 146-8, Kupper, *Nomades* 190, J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32 51, and Laessøe, *Prelim. Report* 84, and read GAL (= *rabi*) [d]MAR.TU. I think I can adduce some proof for this reading by showing that MAR.TU and [d]MAR.TU could be interchanged in OB contracts.

A field, leased out by Mannatum, is located in a.gàr MAR.TU (*PBS* 8/2 253:2, 16), and a.gàr [d]MAR.TU (*PBS* 8/2 262:1, 7). The same area is meant by a.gàr [d]MAR.TU in Scheil, *Sippar* No. 10:12, and by a.gàr MAR.TU, *ibidem* No. 77:9, No. 89:3.

The road kaskal MAR.TU in *CT* 47 60:7 is identical with kaskal *ja-ru*[?]*-um* in Riftin No. 22a:5 (translit. only); both texts describe the same field [57].

[57] It is tempting to correct Riftin 22a:5 into *ja-mu-ru-um* or *ja-mur-ru-um*, aberrating forms I cannot

Two other texts from Sippar mention kaskal MAR.TU (*CT* 47 43:6) and *ḫar-ra-an* ^{d}MAR.TU (*BAP* 75:3), respectively. It may be that the same road is alluded to in all the texts from Sippar [58].

The best parallel to the pair GAL MAR.TU / GAL ^{d}MAR.TU is provided by PA MAR.TU (*VAS* 7 204:42) / PA ^{d}MAR.TU (*TCL* 1 237:25) in the Ḫana texts.

It is almost certain that MAR.TU and ^{d}MAR.TU in all these refs. were pronounced *Amurrû(m)*: we know of an area a.gàr *A-mu-ur-ri-i* $^{(ki)}$, *BAP* 42:(1), 21; cf. a.šà *A-mur-ri-tum*, *VAS* 13 3:2 (from Kish); furthermore GAL MAR.TU next to *ra-bi A-mu-ri-im* (*CAD* A/2 93*b*).

J. Lewy, *HUCA* 32, 1961, 50-52, arrived at this equation MAR.TU = ^{d}MAR.TU = *Amurrûm* be means of a different approach.

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explain. A parallel may be dumu *ja-mu-ri-im* in *CT* 45 89 IV:13, V:5, cf. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names*, 1965, 233 MR. Is GAL[!] *ja-mu-ri-im* in Frankena, *AbBr* 2 No. 156:17, a sandhi writing?

[58] In texts not from Sippar I noted kaskal MAR.TU in *TLB* 1 181:3, *VAS* 18 19:4, and Rutten, *RA* 53, 1959, 83 No. 14:3. Are they all sections of one and the same trail? Or should we think of something like the various *Hessenwegen*, still attested in many villages in the central part of the Netherlands?

VII. THE BURGOMASTER IN HARVEST LABOR CONTRACTS

The burgomaster, together with the elders (*šibūtum*), was mainly concerned with affairs of local importance; see lastly Klengel, *OR* NS 29, 1960, 373-374. We will concentrate here on the part Aḫum-ṭābum, son of Sin-nāṣir, burgomaster of Dilbat (?), played in the hiring of harvesters during the last years of Ammi-ditana and the first years of Ammi-ṣaduqa, kings of Babylon.

YOS 13 79 is a harvest labor contract, dated 30.VIII Ammi-ditana 34, belonging to the archive of the ensí (*iššakku*) Uṣrija (see Stol, *JCS* 25, 1973, 225 Archive B). In this contract, a group of four persons borrows an amount of silver for the harvesting. There are more harvest labor contracts, where two or more persons borrow silver or grain. The remarkable fact in this particular contract is that there is no list of witnesses. This may have something to do with the identity of the four individuals who borrow the silver. In the next chapter, I will show that the men who borrow the silver or grain in these contracts were middlemen, who have to provide for the harvesters. The middlemen in *YOS* 13 79 are:

1. *A-ḫu-um-ṭa-bu ra-bi-a-nu* (5)
2. *A-w[i-i]l-*^{d}IM dumu ^{d}IM-*ri-im-ì-lí* (6)
3. *Ib-n[i-*^{d}*Marduk* dumu *B]e-la-nu* (7)
4. *Ri-m[u]* dumu *A-[n]a-tum* (8) (copy slightly different).

There is another text, also belonging to the Uṣrija Archive, where another group of four individuals borrows barley for the harvesting, MAH 16448 (Szlechter, *TJDB* II, 1958, 108), dated 29.IX Ammi-ditana 37. Two of the individuals of the group in *YOS* 13 79 reappear in this text, viz.

3. Ibni-Marduk, son of Bēlānum (5; correction according to Kraus, *BiOr* 16, 1959, 124)
4. Rīmum, son of Anātum (6).

The witnesses in this text are: Aḫum-ṭābum, burgomaster, and Adad-lu-zēru, scribe.

In *YOS* 13 79 the first middleman is this burgomaster Aḫum-ṭābum and one is inclined to explain the absence of witnesses in that text by the fact that the burgomaster belongs to the group of four.

Aḫu(m)-ṭābu(m) *rabiānu(m)* appears as the first witness in most of the harvest labor contracts belonging to the Uṣrija Archive, listed in *JCS* 25 225 sub B, except in *YOS* 13 59, 302; MAH 16346.

	YOS 13 81 (Ad)	YOS 13 59 Ad 33	YOS 13 79 Ad 34	VAS 7 60 Ad 34	YOS 13 223 Ad 34	YOS 13 302 Ad 36	YOS 13 47 Ad 36	MAH 16448 Ad 37	YOS 13 479 Ad 37	YOS 13 56 Ad 37	UMM H 14 Ad 37	YOS 13 26 Aṣ 1	MAH 16381 Aṣ 1 (c)	YOS 13 233 Aṣ 1	YOS 13 74 Aṣ 1	MAH 16305 Aṣ 1	MAH 16536 Aṣ 2	YOS 13 48 (—)
Aḫum-ṭābum, burgomaster			m	1	1		1	1	1			1	1			1	1	
Awil-Adad, son of *Adad-rīm-ili*	1	1	m	2	2									1				
Ibni-Marduk, son of *Bēlānu* (a)	2	2	m	3	3	1	2	m	2		m				1			m
Rīmum, son of *Anātum*			m					m										
Sin-aḫam-iddinam, son of *Ipqatum*								m				3			2			
Nabium-nāṣir, son of *Ibni-Uraš* (b)																m	3	
Ilabrat-abi, son of *Sin-aḫi*								m						2				
Awēlatum, son of *Ali-banušu*										m			3					
Warad-Iqūlam PA MAR.TU													2			2		
Adad-lu-zēru, scribe						2		2										

MIDDLEMEN AND WITNESSES IN THE UṢRIJA ARCHIVE

m = middleman
1, 2, 3 = first, second, third witness

Notes :

(a) Ibni-Marduk [...] is middleman in *YOS* 13 50 (no date).
(b) Cf. Finkelstein, *JCS* 15, 1961, 131.
(c) The middleman in MAH 16381, Rīšatum, son of Awil-Šamaš (so Finkelstein), is again middleman in *YOS* 13 55 (Aṣ 10).

The other middlemen in *YOS* 13 79 (and in some more texts) are well-known from many texts of the Uṣrija Archive; they often appear together as witnesses, as will be shown in the chart on p. 91. They are listed in a fixed order; sometimes, one of the names may be lacking, like that of the burgomaster in the three texts just mentioned.

Now, almost all of these individuals are attested in the long list of citizens of Dilbat (?), who assign to Uṣrija a small plot of land (?) in *YOS* 13 352 (22.VII Ammi-ditana 34). The obverse, crucial to our understanding of the text, is badly preserved. The reverse runs as follows: [21] *a-na pí-i* dub-*p*[*í Ì-lí-i-qí-ša-am*] [22] GAL.UKKIN.N[A erén ká é.gal] (= obv. 8) [23] 20 SAR X (= obv. 1) [24] *A-ḫu-ṭa-bu ra-*[*bi-a-nu*] [25-36] (twelve more names) [37] *a-na Uṣ-ri-ja* dumu ìr-*sà id-di-n*[*u*] "according to the wording of the tablet of [Ili-iqīšam], the commander of [the personnel of the palace gate], Aḫum-ṭābum, the burgomaster, (and twelve other men) gave twenty SAR of ...-land (?) to Uṣrija, son of Warassa". No witnesses.

One gets the impression that the twelve individuals, headed by the burgomaster, represent the city. It is possible that obv. 15-16 indicates what their function in this text was, but I cannot restore line 16: [15] *a-na ra-bi-*[*a-ni*(*-im*)] [16] *ù* lú.x.[...]. Of course, one is tempted to read lú.š[u.gi.a.meš] (= *šibūtum* "elders") in line 16, but š[u] is by no means certain.
In any case, these thirteen men must have belonged to the top level of the citizenry. The third person mentioned, Warad-Iqūlam (27), is the "general" (PA MAR.TU), often attested in the texts of the Uṣrija Archive; in harvest labor contracts he is frequently the second witness after Aḫum-ṭābum, the burgomaster (MAH 16305, 16508, dated Aṣ 1; cf. MAH 16346; undated: *YOS* 13 50).

The right side of the reverse of *YOS* 13 352 is broken off, so we cannot read most of the patronymics. Notwithstanding this difficulty we may assume that the three names following Warad-Iqūlam were already known to us as the names of middlemen in harvest labor contracts: Ibni-Marduk, Nabium-nāṣir, Awil-Adad (28-30), see the chart. At the end of the list two other middlemen appear together: Rīmum, son of An[atum], and Ilabrat-abi, son of Sin(!)-[aḫi] (34-35). The next (and last) person in this list is Sin-ḫāzir, son of Ina-pa[lêšu], who is middleman in MAH 16374 (Szlechter, *TJDB* II, 1958, 114) and *YOS* 13 396.

Of the middlemen listed in the chart, only Sin-aḫam-iddinam and Awēlatum do not occur in *YOS* 13 352.

There is one small problem. *YOS* 13 352 lists the names of the middlemen in the same order as the harvest labor contracts do, but the exception is Ibni-Marduk, who *precedes* Awil-Adad in this text (28, 30). I think we should not worry too

much about this. In *YOS* 13 25 Warad-Iqūlam PA MAR.TU and Rīš-Marduk PA.PA precede Aḫum-ṭābum *rabiānu* (21-23)[59].

The burgomaster, so often attested as the first witness in these texts and in other harvest labor contracts dated to these years[60], apparently played an important role in the hiring of labor for the harvest period. A small group of mostly the same persons (among whom a "general", PA MAR.TU) appear as second and third (sometimes: first) witnesses in the archive of Uṣrija. Several of these could act as middlemen in this archive; in that case the contracts are witnessed by other members of the group.

However, *YOS* 13 79, where the first middleman is the burgomaster, has no witnesses at all. As a rule, documents in which witnesses are lacking, are of a public nature: they are *Verwaltungsurkunden*, mostly issued by palace or temple (Koschaker and Ungnad, *HG* 6, 1923, p. 155-156). Apart from *YOS* 13 79, there is only one harvest labor contract which is not witnessed, *CT* 6 44c (= *VAB* 5 No. 167), dated 10.XI Hammurabi 30. Here we find instead of the usual list of witnesses: níg.šu *Lu-ša-lim-be-lí*. Lautner, *SD* I, 1936, 155, could not give a good reason for this, but he is inclined to think of this text as a *Verwaltungstext*. Weitemeyer, *Some aspects of the hiring of workers in the Sippar Region...*, 1962, p. 56-7, 62-63, identified Lu-šalim-beli as "overseer", but did not dwell on our problem.

YOS 13 79 is part of the archive of the ensí (*iššakku*) Uṣrija. In this and other texts the harvest work is to be performed *i-na* a.šà *pí-ḫa-at Uṣ-ri-ja* ensí "on the field, for which Uṣrija, the *iššakku*, is responsible"; a similar phrase occurs in the harvest labor contracts belonging to the archive of Šumšunu ensí (see *JCS* 25 225, sub C). Already Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, 1917, 149, noted on a.šà *piḫat PN* "dieses setzt einen grossen, verschiedenen Verwaltern unterstellten Grundbesitz voraus, also wohl Domänen". Landsberger, *MSL* 1, 1937, 130 (6.), observed "An diesen Stellen handelt es sich um staatliche Feldverwalter (*iššakku*), sodass dieser Sprachgebrauch, aus dem sich die Bedeutung *piḫatu* = "Verwaltungsbezirk" entwickelt hat, wohl auf die staatliche Felderwirtschaft beschränkt war". In this connection we may also refer to an administrative text from Sippar which deals with large amounts of grain, *ša* a.šà kar-^{d}utu^{ki} *pí-ḫa-at Bēlijatum*

[59] In some texts belonging to Archive H (*JCS* 25 226-7), the burgomaster is preceded by the PA.PA (*YOS* 13 389, 464, 465, 466, 515; Pinches, *PSBA* 39, 1917, Plate XII No. 24). In Koschaker-Ungnad, *HG* 6 No. 1650, Aḫum-ṭābum, burgomaster, is preceded by a certain Ubarrum, son of Qīštum.

[60] In the Uṣrija Archive: *Sin-nāṣir*, *YOS* 13 231:13 (6.X Aṣ 1). In the Šumšunu Archive: *Rīš-Eibbianu*, *YOS* 13 218:12 and Szlechter, *TJA* II, 1963, p. 94 UMM H 34:12 (both Aṣ 10); *Sin-nādin-šumi*, Szlechter, *ibid.* UMM H 79:10-11 (Aṣ 10), *YOS* 13 357 and 482 (Aṣ 13).
Elsewhere: *Nabium-mālik*, *YOS* 13 480:9 (Ae "o").

ensí *ša* SAL(!) *Lamassani* lukur dutu "from the field(s) of Kār-Šamaš, for which Bēlijatum, the ensí of Lamassani, *nadītum* of Šamaš, is responsible" (*TCL* 1 167:11-14); cf. R. Harris, *JCS* 16, 1962, 9*a*. Sin-iqīšam, brother of this *nadītum*, talks of Bēlijatum as *bēl piḫatija* in *TCL* 1 54:4 (= *VAB* 6 No. 245), cf. Landsberger, *MSL* 1 125 sub 4, ad *b*., and see now R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 1975, 235-237.

Maria DeJong Ellis, *Taxation and Land Revenues in the OB Period* (diss. Yale University 1969), 123, concludes her excursus on the *iššakku* by stating that we must see in the OB *iššakku* a "manager of arable public lands". Finkelstein, *RA* 63, 1969, 54, concluded that the ensí in the Edict of Ammi-ṣaduqa is an all-embracing term, "to cover various groups of tenant-farmers of Crown lands (but not including fiefholders on the basis of service), all of whom normally paid annual rents and/or crop shares to the Crown".

We cannot investigate here the position and the obligations of the ensí in the Late Old Babylonian Period. From the foregoing citations it becomes more or less clear that the ensí was to manage public lands. So it needs not surprise us that in *YOS* 13 79 and in the other texts the silver is given out by Ili-iqīšam, "commander of the personnel of the palace gate" (GAL.UKKIN.NA erén ká é.gal), a public official.

This GAL.UKKIN.NA erén ká é.gal (hereafter: *G*.), "commander of the personnel of the palace gate", must have been a very high official in the Late OB Period.

In *VAS* 7 56:7, the *awēlum* Elmēšum, the $ša_x$.dub.ba[61], and Ili-iqīšam *G*., give instructions as to how a legal case should be tried.

In *YOS* 13 41 (Samsu-ditana 2) Igmil-Sin *G*. and Awil-Sin, the *šāpirum* of Kish, (this order) jointly rent a field. In *YOS* 13 330 (and 333) Marduk-mušallim *G*., Awil-Sin, the *šāpirum* of Kish, (and Bēlšunu, ensí) jointly rent a field (dated Samsu-ditana 2 and 3).

In *YOS* 13 525:3-4 somebody borrows sesame oil "for buying barley", from Iddin-Marduk (or: Iddin-Alammuš) dam.gàr é.gal níg.šu dNanna-ma.an.sum GAL.UKKIN.NA erén ká <é>.gal[62].

CT 45 55 (from Sippar) starts: (barley) 3 šà-*bu* gú.un d*Na-bi-um-na-ṣi-ir* 4 *G*. 5 ensí *Ta-ri-ba-tum* 6 *ša iš-tu* GN_1 (?) 7 *a-na* GN_2 8 *ib-ba-ab-lam-ma* 9 *i-na na-at-ba-ki-im ša i-ta* ká.gal d*A-a* 10 *iš-ša-ap-ku* "(barley) from the rent of

[61] Cfr. Birot, *Syria* 41, 1964, 27.

[62] In *VAS* 7 119 someone else borrows silver, "for buying barley", from Nanna-mansum *G*., *ana qabê Ilšu-ibni* dam.gàr é.gal.

Nabium-nāṣir, the *G.* — ensí Tarībatum — which was brought here, to GN_2, from GN_1 (?), and stored in the granary[63] adjacent to the Gate of Aya".

Assuming that this quantity of barley, part of the total rent of Nabium-nāṣir, represents the due of the ensí Tarībatum (5) in that rent, we may suppose that the ensí ranks below the *G.* Did the *G.* collect the contributions of a number of ensís?

In *AbBr* 2 66 (= King, *LIḪ* 2 No. 84), king Abi-ešuḫ asks Marduk-nāṣir (the overseer of the merchants[64]), the *kārum* of Sippar and the Judges of Sippar, to harvest and deliver the barley *ša* a.šà gú.un ^{d}EN.ZU-*mu-ša-lim* GAL.-UKKI[N.NA] er[én] k[á é.ga]l (?) (lines 8-9, 17) — if we may read the signs this way (see already Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, 1917, 150).

The exact position of the *G.* in the local hierarchies of the various OB cities may not have been uniform. If the few texts mentioned above are really informative, and if the order of the functionaries in the land lease contracts *YOS* 13 41, 330, 333 reflect the *G.*'s status in the hierarchy, we may visualize the relative position of the *G.* as follows :

Dilbat-Kish	*Sippar*
	(highest level)
	King Abi-ešuḫ
$ša_x$.dub.ba	Overseer of the Merchants
	kārum and Judges of Sippar
GAL.UKKIN.NA erén ká é.gal	
šāpir Kiš	
ensí	ensí
(dam.gàr é.gal)	
	(lower levels)

For completeness' sake I give here a list of the other refs. for *G.* known to me :

In letters : *PBS* 7 121:1, *TCL* 18 104:7 (no names).

Elsewhere, mentioned by name :

Ili-iqīšam, Szlechter, *TJDB* II, 1958, 108ff. MAH 16448:3, 16148:3, etc.; p. 118 MAH 16305:3; *VAS* 7 60:3; *YOS* 13 56:3, 59:3, 79:4, 222:3, 302:3, 352:8, 22 (all archive of Uṣrija); Szlechter, *ibid.* p. 27 MAH 16536:3; *YOS* 13 287:6, 396:5.

[63] The royal granary, according to Rivkah Harris, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 732*a*; *Ancient Sippar*, 1975, 46f.

[64] As in *TCL* 1 148:10. See Leemans, *The OB Merchant*, 1950, 101 and 105; Oppenheim, *JESHO* 10, 1967, 6-7; R. Harris, *JAOS* 88, 1968, 730.

Marduk-mušallim and *Igmil-Sin*, in *YOS* 13 41, 330, 333 (land lease contracts), see above.

Nanna-mansum (Dilbat-Kish), *YOS* 13 525:4, *VAS* 7 119:3, both dated Aṣ 16, *BIN* 7 211:10 (Aṣ 17, land lease).

Nanna-mansum (Sippar), *CT* 8 19a:15-16 (Aṣ 5), *ARN* 169:8 (Aṣ 16, land lease).

Earlier discussions on the *G.*: Walther, *Das altbab. Gerichtswesen*, 1917, 148-150; Maria DeJong Ellis, *Diss.*, p. 116 and note 17; cf. *CAD* B 17*b* (b'). *CAD* A/1 52*a*, discussion section, is probably wrong in equating *abi ṣābim* with *G.* The Ili-iqīšam in *VAS* 7 (Dilbat-Kish) can hardly be identical with the Ili-iqīšam in *CT* 8 (Sippar). For *Nanna-mansum*, cf. my remarks at the end of my article "On Ancient Sippar" in *BiOr* 33 (1976).

To return to *YOS* 13 79: all the other texts, where Ili-iqīšam *G.* lends out the silver for harvesting, are witnessed. The reason why *YOS* 13 79 has no list of witnesses may be sought in the fact that another public official, the burgomaster, borrows the silver in the first place. Thus, the whole transaction is conceived as an administrative, non-private agreement.

The land-lease contract *BIN* 7 211 (Aṣ 17) seems to represent a similar case. In this text, Nanna-mansum *G.* rents a field (a.šà *gìr-ma-di-i I-lu-ni*; see *MSL* 9 172) for the time of one year, "with the approbation (?) of (*ana qabê*) PN, the burgomaster, PN_2 (= *BIN* 7 208:15, 209:15), PN_3, and PN_4; with the approbation (?) of PN_5, the ensí". This text has no witnesses and bears the seal impressions of PN, PN_2, and PN_4.

In other land-leases, where the *G.* rents a field (alone or jointly) the contracts are all witnessed (*ARN* 169, *YOS* 13 41, 330, cf. 333). In *BIN* 7 211, the approbation (?) by the burgomaster may have been the reason why witnessing the transaction was no longer necessary.

The problems of the Uṣrija Archive in general and texts like *YOS* 13 79, 352 in particular are far from solved. One would like to know what Uṣrija and Ili-iqīšam exactly did and what kind of relationship they had with Aḫum-ṭābum, the burgomaster. The burgomaster represented the local community and he was in the best position to "recruit" the harvest labor from the local population. He may even have been obliged to do so whenever the harvesting of public lands was involved, as in the archive of Uṣrija.

VIII. SOME PROBLEMS IN OLD BABYLONIAN HARVEST LABOR CONTRACTS

The economic context of the Old Babylonian harvest labor contracts has been described by A. L. Oppenheim as follows: "(The) growing of barley required but two periods of intensive field work which demanded a considerable labor force whenever the holdings exceeded the size manageable by the family. The two periods were the plowing and the seeding (...), and the harvesting. We have found a considerable number of documents from Sippar in which contractors in possession of the necessary equipment, of draft animals and trained workers, were hired for payment in silver to plow and to seed the fields with barley. The harvesting was done by workers who were hired either individually or by middlemen long before harvest time. These harvesters were well paid, often in advance, and were compelled by special ordinances to carry out their agreements, which prevented them from selling their services to the highest bidder. These two practices made it possible for the owner of a field to calculate quite accurately in advance the expenses involved in growing barley" (*Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. Ira M. Lapidus, 1969, 13-14).

1. *Earlier studies*

The contents, clauses, and meaning of the OB harvest labor contracts and related texts have been studied by J. G. Lautner in his *Altbabylonische Personenmiete und Erntearbeiterverträge* (= Studia et Documenta ad iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia, Vol. I, 1936) p. 142ff. This excellent study by Lautner was exhaustive, so it is no wonder that not much has been said about these contracts since 1936. M. Weitemeyer, *Some aspects of the hiring of workers in the Sippar region at the time of Hammurabi* (Copenhagen 1962), treated the dockets and the attendance lists of workers (not only harvesters) and related problems; note the review articles by R. Harris, *JAOS* 83, 1963, 251-2; A. Falkenstein, *ZA* 57, 1965, 298-300[65].

H. Klengel, "Soziale Aspekte der altbabylonischen Dienstmiete" (in: *Beiträge zur sozialen Struktur des alten Vorderasien*, ed. H. Klengel, 1971, 39-52), gave

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[65] More dockets: Finkelstein, *RA* 63, 1969, 57 fn. 2; C. H. Gordon, *Smith College Tablets*, 1952, nos. 58, 59; Allard Pierson Museum (Amsterdam), B 6431, 6433 (photographs in: *Mededelingenblad Vereniging van Vrienden van het A.P.M.*, no. 8 (juli 1974) p. 6); Figulla, *CBTBM* I, 1961, p. 276*b* "Dockets" (mostly OB); *PBS* 14 No. 1075. See also the review article by Falkenstein.

a general and updated survey of the hiring of labor in the OB period. For the hiring of harvesters in the Sippar area, see now R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 1975, 245 ff.

A few clauses in the contracts of the šubanti-type (Lautner, p. 146 ff.) were examined by E. Szlechter and M. DeJong Ellis. Szlechter explains the clause *ana qabê PN*, which sometimes occurs in these contracts, in his article "La nature juridique de la clause *ana qabê* en droit babylonien" (*Revue Internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, 3e série, tome VI, 1959, p. 95-96, 104-105). His conclusions are: "La caution n'est tenue, en cas de défaillance du moissonneur, qu'au paiement des dommages-intérêts dus par l'ouvrier en vertu des dispositions légales (*ṣimdat šarrim*) mentionnées dans les contrats de louage de moissonneurs. A l'inverse, le garant «sur la parole» (*ana qabê*) duquel le contrat de louage de moissonneurs a été conclu s'engage, le cas échéant, à exécuter la moisson" (p. 95-6)[66].

In her article "*Ṣimdatu* in the Old Babylonian Sources" (*JCS* 24, 1972, 73-82), Mrs. Maria DeJong Ellis considers the clause *kima ṣimdat šarrim* in harvest labor contracts[67] as "a reference not to a normative body of rules, but to «general legal custom»" (p. 75-76), for example a rule such as that laid down in Section 9 (*sic*) of the Laws of Eshnunna (p. 79).

It would be unwise to study afresh the šubanti-contracts and all the related problems, as long as many important texts remain unpublished (Finkelstein, *RA* 63, 1969, 57-58, footnotes; my fns. 65, 77). 68 or 69[68] contracts have been published but the distribution over the years is very unequal. Only four contracts are dated to the reigns of Samsu-iluna and Abi-ešuḫ. It was exactly in this period that the contracts adopted a rigid scheme.

2. *A crucial clause*

On the following pages, I will concentrate on the clause u_4.EBUR.šè (erén/lú) še.gur_{10}.KUD.(meš) *illak(ū) ūl illak(ū)ma ṣimdat šarrim* in the harvest labor contracts. This clause has been discussed many times. Lautner wrote many pages on this formula (p. 162 ff.) and listed earlier interpretations in his fn. 503. Landsberger, *MSL* 1, 1937, 238-239, and Ungnad, *Symbolae Koschaker*, 1939, 96 fn. 4, substantially agree with Lautner, etc. This "classical" interpretation has been adopted ever since; the *CAD*, in line with this tradition, translates "he will

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[66] See for the vexing problem of *ana qabê* now D. O. Edzard, *Altbab. Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden aus Tell-ed-Dēr*, 1970, p. 68-69.

[67] This clause seems to be lacking in *YOS* 13 465; A.146.

[68] The fragmentary *TCL* 1 191 is not necessarily a harvest labor contract, cp. *VAB* 5 no. 159.

come (*illak*) as reaper at harvest time, if he does not come, (he will be liable) according to the (pertinent) decrees of the king" (*CAD* E 349*b*, *a*, 2'; Ṣ 195-6, 2, *d*).

Lautner, p. 145-148, divided the normal harvest labor contracts into two groups: group *a* has lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.(meš) *illak(ū)*; group *b* has *n* lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.meš *illak(ū)*. He (and all others) considered the Sumerian word "harvester(s)" in this clause as the subject of the following finite verbal form (Present) of *alākum* "to go". With his vast knowledge, he tried to solve in a heroic way the difficulties entailed by this interpretation.

It is only since 1963 that we know that the Akkadian word generally represented by the Sumerogram (erén).še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.(meš) was *ēṣidī*. This equation radically changes the picture. Szlechter, *TJA*, 1963, II 93 UMM H 14:7 (= Fish, *MCS* 2 80 no. 9) runs *e-ṣi-di i-[il-la-ak]*); UMM H 79:7 (p. 94) has [*e*]-*ṣi-di i-il-la-ak*. Finkelstein, *YOS* 13 nos. 55:7, 56:8, 334:8 run *e-ṣi-di i-(il)-la-(a)-ak*; *YOS* 13 399:7 has e[ré]n *e-ṣi-di i-il-la-ak*.

This means that *ēṣidī* cannot be the subject of *alākum*; it is the object.

It was Koschaker's merit that he realized the difficulties of the Middle Assyrian expression *ēṣidī illak* in: [10] [*10*] lú *e-ṣi-di* [11] *i-lak* [12] *i-na tu-re-zi e-*[*ṣi-di*] [13] *i-lak* [14] *šum-ma e-ṣi-di la i-*[*lak*] "He will 'go' ten harvesters; during the harvest he will 'go' the harvesters; if he does not 'go' the harvesters" ... (*KAJ* 29:10-14; cp. *KAJ* 11:11-13). Koschaker proposed with much hesitation "wird er die Erntearbeiter bringen" (*Neue keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der El-Amarna-Zeit*, 1928, 109 fn. 4; see Lautner, p. 163).

Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, II 115, made the following comment on this clause in OB contracts: "Il ne semble pas que l'on puisse considérer erim še.kin.kud comme objet de cette proposition et les personnes que nous venons de citer comme devant *fournir* 'un moissonneur'. Cela supposerait la traduction du verbe *alākum* par 'fournir', ce qui serait peut-être hasardeux". Szlechter did, at that time, not yet know that "harvester(s)" is indeed the object of *illak(ū)*.

D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 30, 1968, 184 translates the MA clause *10* lú *e-ṣi-di i-na tu-re-zi i-la-ak* of TR 3022:6-7 "Ten harvesters he shall provide at harvest", possibly suggested by *e-ṣi-du* SUM-*ma* in TR 3014:14-15 (p. 182), see also Landsberger, *MSL* 1 238, *c*[69].

3. *To 'go' harvesters*

We cannot blame Lautner, and others, for not considering seriously the possibility that "harvester(s)", in this clause, could be an accusative. The expression *ēṣidī*

[69] Read in TR 3015:9 *i-lak* (p. 182).

alākum is difficult. We now have a parallel in the *inītum*-contract MAH 16305:9 (Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, II 119): [7] *ina* a.šà *pí-ḫa-at* [8] *PN* ensí [9] *i-ni-a-ti i-la-ak* [10] *ú-ul i-la-a[k-ma]* [11] *ki-ma ṣi-im-da-at š[ar-r]i*, "he (the person engaged to deliver the oxen) will perform the services with the oxen (whenever the farmer requests), if he does not (so) perform (he will be penalized) according to the (pertinent) royal decree" (translation *CAD* I/J p. 149*a*). It has been known long since that *alākum* can express "die Verpflichtung zur Dienstleistung" (Lautner, p. 175-6; Landsberger, *MSL* 1 238-9), "to serve, to do service" (*CAD* A/1 309-310, 3*c*). The verb has that meaning also in *ilkam alākum* "to perform corvée work" (*CAD* A/1 313*b*), *bēlūtam alākum* "to serve in clientage" (A/1 315; cp. B 205*a*), *ḫarrānam alākum* "to perform corvée work" (Ḫ 112-113, 9, 10), *altaram alākum* "to perform assigned work" (*YOS* 13 361:8-9), cf. *altaram epēšum*, Jacobsen, *Cuneiform Texts...Copenhagen*, 1939, No. 66; *dullam alākum* "to work hard", according to *CAD* D 173*b* (*MDP* 24 379:8); *dekūtam alākum*, "to perform corvée work", *CAD* A/1 315b (add *VAS* 8 45:1-4, *BE* 6/1 7:10, *CT* 45 16 rev. 3-4 with R. Harris, *Ancient Sippar*, 1975, 90).

We should view *iniāti illak* and *ēṣidī illak(ū)* in the light of the idiomatic expressions just quoted: "to perform the services with the oxen" (*CAD*), and "to perform the services with the harvesters". So the *CAD* entered MA *ina turezi ēṣidī illak* with good reasons sub *alākum* "to serve, to do service" (A/1 309), but went wrong in translating "the harvester will do work at harvest time".

Although the idiomatic expressions adduced above are revealing in some respects, we should confess that *ēṣidī alākum* has no real close parallel in Akkadian. The nouns are all, more or less, abstracta. A word like "to go" could acquire technical, specialized meanings in the administrative jargon; examples may be *eqlam alākum* (?), *MDP* 23 200:54-5 (uncertain; cf. De Meyer, *L'Accadien de Suse*, 1962, 156, η); *ālik eqlim*, Birot, *ARMT* 9 p. 332; *biltam u bazḫam* (?) *alākum*, *CT* 48 86 rev. 1-4. Prof. Veenhof refers me to Birot, *ARMT* XIV 13:30-31, *mānaḫātim mādātim ana Ḫabur allak*. Does *mānaḫātim alākum* mean "to have expenses", or "to experience troubles"?

One could try to interpret *e-ṣi-di* as the accusative plural form of the Infinitive *eṣēdum* "to harvest". The Infinitive, as an object, however, seems to occur only before transitive verbs (von Soden, *GAG* §150*e*), not *alākum* (Aro, *Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktionen*, StudOr XXVI, 1961, 74ff.)[70]. Accusative plural forms of an infinitive occur only in paronomastic constructions (**eṣēdī iṣṣedū*, *GAG* §150*a* and Aro, p. 107), e.g. *damāqīšunu idammiq*, *ARM* VIII 1:4. The writing e[ré]n

[70] *ARM* III 22:6, quoted by Finet, *ALM* p. 267 §93*c*, was read *ša*[!] *ki-a-am PN il-li-kam* by Falkenstein, *BiOr* 11, 1954, 117 ("deretwegen PN zu mir gekommen ist").

e-ṣi-di in *YOS* 13 399:7 makes it pretty certain that we should interpret *e-ṣi-di* as *ēṣidī*, "harvesters". The final proof for "harvesters" here offers *KAJ* 99:14-16 *i-na e-ṣa-di tu-re-zi ḫar-bi e-ṣi-di i-lak*, "at the time of harvesting (*eṣādi*, Inf.) the harvest, he will 'go' harvesters (*ēṣidī*, Subst.)" [71].

In the Old Babylonian texts there is a variety of Sumerograms for (*ana*) *eṣēdim* in the first line(s) of the contracts, and for *ēṣidī* in the clause under discussion, as a complete list of all relevant texts will show :

Date	*Year*	*Text*	*Archive*	*(ana)eṣēdim*	*ēṣidī*
—.XI	Sumu-abum 10	HG 6 1542		*c*	—
—.IX	Ḫ 17	VAS IX 3		*d*	*10 d*
10.XI	Ḫ 30	CT 6 44c		*c*	*e*
—.—	Ḫ 31	VAS VIII 111		*d*	*9 d*
—.XII	Ḫ 36	MAH 16651		*c*	*d*
15.XI	Ḫ 38	Gautier, *Dilbat* 59		*d*	*d*
...XI	Ḫ 38	Gautier, *Dilbat* 60		*d*	*d*
19.Ḫumṭum	Ḫ 40	Goetze, *JCS* 11 28 no. 17		*c*	*3 e*
20+.Isin-Adad	Si 6	TCL 1 118		*c*	*10 c* (?)
20.XII	Si 16 (?)	BIN 7 185		*d*	*7 e*
[..] XII	Ae [..]	A. 146 (unp.)		*e*	*e*
20.VIII	Ae 8	CT 33 46a	Iltani	*h*	*h*
23.X	Ae *o*	YOS 13 480		*d*	*e*
20+.I	Ad 2	Coll. A. Smit 53		*c*	*g* (?)
13.XII	Ad 5	VAT 805 (SD I 153)		*c*	*g* (?)
1.VIII	Ad 29	YOS 13 396		*c*	*f*
5.X	Ad 33	YOS 13 59	B	*b*	*c*
30.VIII	Ad 34	YOS 13 79	B	*a*	*f*
30.IX	Ad 34	VAS VII 60	B	*f*	*f*
25.X	Ad 34	YOS 13 223	B	...	*f*
...	Ad 35 or 36	YOS 13 48	B	*b*	?
26.IX	Ad 36	YOS 13 302	B	*f*	...
29.IX	Ad 37	MAH 16448	B	*f*	*f*
10.X	Ad 37	YOS 13 56	B	*f*	*a*
5.XII	Ad 37	BE 6/2 115	Iddin-Ea	*i*	*f* (?)
18.XII	Ad 37	YOS 13 4	Iddin-Ea	*h*	*f*
21.XII	Ad 37	BE 6/2 116	Iddin-Ea	*c*	*c* or *f*
24.XII	Ad 37	UMM H 14		*b*	*a*
8.X	Ad —	YOS 13 81		...	*f*
25.XI	Ad —	YOS 13 309		*b*	*f* (?)
9.XII	Ad 37	Grant, *Smith Coll.* 262		*f*	...
1.IX	Aṣ 1	MAH 16381	B	*f*	*f*

[71] *Ēṣidum* is a participle used and declined as a substantive, see *GAG* §55*l*, 18, *a*, III, and §61*k*; Finet, *ALM* p. 165 §62*b*. Such participles often indicate temporary occupations, in contradistinction to *parrās*-forms like *errēšum*.

Date	*Year*	*Text*	*Archive*	*(ana)eṣēdim*	*ēṣidī*
6.X	Aṣ 1	YOS 13 231	B	*b*	*f*
8.XI	Aṣ 1	MAH 16148	B	*f*	*f*
29.XI	Aṣ 1	MAH 16508	B	*f*	*f*
6.XII	Aṣ 1	MAH 16346	B	*f*	*f*
...	Aṣ 1	MAH 16374	B	*f*	*f*
...	Aṣ 1	YOS 13 38		*f*	*c*
...	...	YOS 13 50	B	*f*	*f*
...	...	YOS 13 222	B	*f*	*f*
18.XII	Aṣ 2	BE 6/2 119	Iddin-Ea	*c*	*e*,*f*,*g*, or *i*
30.XIII	Aṣ 4	VAS VII 76		*f*	*f*
17.XII	Aṣ 6	YOS 13 481	I	*f*	*f*
..X	Aṣ 7 (?)	PBS 8/2 232		*c*	*f*
25.XII	Aṣ 8	BAP 22	Iltani	*b*	*h*
25.XII	Aṣ 8	TCL 1 162	Iltani	*b*	...
8.I	Aṣ 9	YOS 13 437	I	*f*	*c*
18.I	Aṣ 10	UMM H 79	C	*b*	*a*
25.IX	Aṣ 10	YOS 13 226	C	*a*	*f*
10.X	Aṣ 10	YOS 13 225	C	*a*(?)	*f*(?)
10.X	Aṣ 10	UMM H 34	C	*a*	*f*
...XI	Aṣ 10	UMM H 27	C	*f*	*f*
4.XII	Aṣ 10	UMM H 17	C	*f*	*f*
15.XII	Aṣ 10	YOS 13 218	C	*b*	...
... XII	Aṣ 10	YOS 13 213		*f* or *g*	*f* or *g*
	lost	UMM H 19	C	*a* or *b*	*f*
	lost	UMM H 61	C	...	*f*
4.XII	Aṣ 13	YOS 13 357	C	*b*	*f*
4.XII	Aṣ 13	YOS 13 482	C	*b*	...
	lost	YOS 13 334	C	*b*	*a*
	lost	YOS 13 399	C	*b*	erén.*a*
30.X	Aṣ 15	RA 69 117-118		*c*	*d*
23.IX	Aṣ 16	YOS 13 58		*c*	*g*
	Aṣ/Sd	HG 3 569		*f*	*f*
14.II	Sd 4	BE 6/1 111		*b*	*f*
5.II	Sd 13	YOS 13 466	H	*b*	*f*
4.I	Sd 14	YOS 13 389	H	*c*	*f*
10.X	Sd 14	YOS 13 465	H	*c*	*c*

Explanation of the symbols used:

Fourth column: Archives B, C, H, I, see Stol, *JCS* 25, 1973, 225-7.

Fifth and sixth columns: *a* = *e-ṣi-di*, *b* = *e-ṣi-di-im*, *c* = še.gur$_{10}$.KUD, *d* = lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD, *e* = lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.meš, *f* = erén.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD, *g* = erén.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.meš, *h* = itu.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD, *i* = še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.meš

As one can readily see, there exists much confusion in the writing and the Sumerograms for *(ana)eṣēdim* and *ēṣidī*, even within the same archives. Ungnad, Schorr and Lautner tried to explain all these disturbing variants through subtle

argumentation (Lautner, p. 146-7, footnotes; p. 152 fn. 465). The writing itu.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD for *eṣēdi(m)* in *CT* 33 46a:5, and for *ēṣidī* in lines 8-9 of that same text, and of *BAP* 22:8, cp. *YOS* 13 4:2, however, could not be explained (Lautner, p. 16 fn. 52).

I think all this is simply a matter of confusion in the scribal habits of the Babylonians themselves.

Note that the early texts consistently use lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.(meš), where the later texts have erén.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.(meš).

4. *Conclusions*

The new evidence, adduced above, proves that the harvesters are not the subjects of *illak(ū)*. The subject(s) is (are) he that (those who) borrow(s) the money or cereals "for the harvesting" (*ana eṣēdim*, in the first lines). We can even prove this to a large extent : in most contracts the borrower is one individual (*PN* šu ba.an.ti) and the clause under discussion has in that case invariably *illak* "he will 'go' ". The few contracts where more than one individual is borrowing, have mostly *illakū* "they will 'go' " : *YOS* 13 79, 218 [72]; Szlechter, *TJDB*, 1958, II 108-9 MAH 16448; Szlechter, *TJA*, 1963, II 95 UMM H 34 (= Fish, *MCS* 2 30 no. 9); *CT* 6 44*c* (= *VAB* 5 no. 167); Collection A. Smit no. 53 (unpublished, courtesy K. R. Veenhof).

Only two texts have in this case *illak* (*YOS* 13 38; Lautner, Frontispiece with p. 152-3). This may simply be a mistake, just like the singular šu.ba.an.ti in MAH 16448:8, mentioned above.

Although Lautner and others had misinterpreted the phrase *ēṣidī illak(ū)*, they rightly felt that the borrowers must be middlemen(*Dienstvermittler*); see Lautner, p. 164-5, 170ff. This interpretation was forcibly suggested to them by common sense and by parallel texts from OB Susa and MA Assur.

It is a vexing question who these middlemen were; Lautner, p. 155-59, is mainly interested in the identity of those who gave out the silver or the barley. *YOS* 13 79 reveals the identity of one of the middlemen : the first out of four individuals is Aḫum-ṭābum, burgomaster (*ra-bi-a-nu*) of Dilbat (?). This text belongs to the archive of Uṣriya (archive B). Burgomaster Aḫum-ṭābum is the first witness in a similar text, *YOS* 13 223, dated two months later; see Chapter VII. A carpenter (Sum. nagar) is the middleman in UMM H 79 (Szlechter, *TJA*, 1963, II 94);

[72] Broken, but comparison with UMM H 34 (Szlechter, *TJA*, II 94-5), belonging to the same archive, makes clear that Qīšti-ilum (1) and Iddatum (2) are the contractors.

a "priest" (UḪ.ME ^{d}Inanna) in UMM H 27 (Szlechter, p. 96). Both texts are part of the archive of Šumsunu (archive C).

Generally speaking, we can make a distinction between *ēṣidī illak(ū) ul illak(ū)ma ṣimdat šarrim* in harvest labor contracts, and simple *illak(ū) ul illak(ū)ma ṣimdat šarrim* in hires of persons.

The subject(s) of simple *illak(ū)*, etc., is (are) the hireling(s) himself (themselves); the phrase means "he (they) will do service ...". This is the only possible interpretation of Friedrich, *BA* 5/4, 1906, 496 no. 19:10 (= *VAB* 5 no. 159; cp. *VAS* 7 47:14-15) and *BAP* 57 Case 15 (= *VAB* 5 no. 157; with negation). This translation is highly probable in *VAS* 9 31:12 (^{11}*a-na* 1 gín k[ù.babbar.ta] ^{12} *36* lú.ḫun.g[á.meš] ^{13} *i-la-ku ú-ul il-l[a-ku]* ^{14} *ṣi-im-da-at* lugal; see also Lautner, p. 154, 185-6), and in *TCL* 1 158:19 (the subjects are the five PA ḫun.gá...s (line 2), who represent here their gangs. See also Lautner, p. 150-2).

5. "*At harvest time*"

The context of *PBS* 13 56 is difficult; the crucial lines obv. 10–rev. 1 were translated (and emended) in different ways by Landsberger (apud Lautner, p. 176; cp. *MSL* 1 238-9) and Goetze (*The Laws of Ešnunna*, 1956, 48 fn. 18). The *CAD* wisely refrains from giving a translation (E 339, *a*, 1', c'). Professor David I. Owen was so kind as to draw a copy of these lines of *PBS* 13 56 for me. Transliteration : Obv. (dividing line) ^{10}[... *qá-t*]*i* (?) erén *ša*$^{!}$ kù.babbar *im-ḫu-ru* [...] ^{11} [... *e*]*-ṣe-dam la il-l*[*i-ku* (?)] (Broken) Rev. (dividing line) $^{x+1}$ [...]x erén *ša*$^{!}$ *e-ṣe-TAM il-l*[*i-ku*] (Owen : *il-te-*[...]) $^{x+2}$[...] *a-na ši-ip-ri-im a-ḫ*[*i-im*] $^{x+3}$ [o] *la id*(?)*-ku-šu-nu-*[*ti*] (dividing line).

Unfortunately, these lines remain almost as difficult as they were before. Assuming that we may read *eṣēdam (la) illikū* in obv. 11 and rev. x+1, we should ask ourselves what these lines mean.

I think there is only one possible interpretation for *eṣēdam* in *PBS* 13 56 : "at the time of harvesting".

The Dictionaries acknowledge, with sound reasoning, the existence of a substantive *eṣēdum* "harvesting, harvest" (*CAD* E 338), "Ernte" (*AHw* 250*b*), although it is sometimes difficult — for us as well as for the Babylonian himself — to separate this word from the infinitive of the verb *eṣēdum* "to harvest".

This interpretation of *eṣēdam* is happily supported by Section 9 of the Laws of Eshnunna : *šumma ... e-ṣe-dam e-ṣe-dam la e-ṣí-sú*, "If he ... does not do for him the harvesting at harvest time" (Tablet A col. I line 32). For other interpretations, see Yaron, *The Laws of Eshnunna*, 1969, 24-25, who did not quote the opinion of Miles and Gurney, *ArOr* 17/2, 1949, 181.

The accusative is simply an accusative of time, see von Soden, *GAG* §146, and A. Finet, *ALM* p. 118-119 §47 *a-e*; p. 182-3 §66 *m-o*, and cp. the clause *elūnam nabrî ù ajaram pišannam ipaqqissi*, "he will provide her with a basket in (the months of) Elūlu, Nabrû, and Ajaru" (*CAD* E 230*a*); cp. *ina elūnim ... ina* ezen *ù nabrî ipaqqissi*, *CT* 33 42:12-17 [73].

The first word of the clause in harvest labor contracts discussed here is mostly [74] u_4.EBUR.šè "at harvest time", possibly *ūm ebūrim* in Akkadian (see *CAD* E 17*b*, 1, *b*, 1'). Some contracts, however, dating to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna [75], have u_4.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD (Goetze, *JCS* 11, 1957, 28-9 no. 17 CUA 66; *TCL* 1 118; *BIN* 7 185). One text dating to this period has *u*$_4$*-um* še.gur$_{10}$.KUD (*CT* 6 44*c*), undoubtedly *ūm eṣēdim* "at the day of harvesting", where *ūm* is virtually an accusative of time.

Middle Assyrian texts (see above) read *ina turēzi* "at the harvest".

6. *Contracts from the Diyala region*

There are only two published harvest labor contracts from the Diyala region. They have been made public by S.D. Simmons, *JCS* 13, 1959, 107 no. 7, and by Mrs. M. DeJong Ellis, *JCS* 24, 1972, 51 no. 25. The wording of these contracts deviates considerably from that of contracts from other sites and the clause under discussion runs *e-ṣe-dam ul iṣṣidma ṣimdat* lugal kù.babbar ì.lá.e (Simmons), and *ul iṣṣidma ṣimdat* lugal kù.babbar ì.lá.e (Ellis); in the second text *eṣedam* is lacking. Here, too, *eṣēdam* could mean "at the time of harvesting", just as in that other text from the Diyala region, the Laws of Eshnunna, Section 9, discussed above. From that same section, however, we learn that *eṣēdam iṣṣid* can be an infinitive construction as well. Aro, *Die akk. Inf. konstr.*, 107, 114, adduces a few OA, MA (already *GAG* §150*a*), OB and SB cases where in paronomastic infinitive constructions the infinitive is in the accusative singular [76]. This accusative singular is in OB texts rare; the only attested cases I know of are: the interesting *ḫamuṣam iḫmuṣ* in the foundation inscription of Yaḫdun-Lim, col. II:19 (Dossin, *Syria* 32, 1955, 14; see von Soden, *AHw* 315*b*, and Buccellati, *OrAnt* X, 1971, 80); in a late OB letter from Sippar: *a-la-ka-am ú-ul a-la-a-ku-um*, *PBS* 7 108:35-36; and in *TCL* 17 60:23, quoted by Aro, p. 107 (*ṣalāla ul ṣallāku*).

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[73] A different interpretation by K.R. Veenhof, *Dissertation*, 1972 (= StudDoc Vol. X), Stelling V, cp. p. 234.

[74] Lacking in VAS 8 111.

[75] Collection A. Smit no. 53 (Ammi-ditana 2) has also u_4.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD (Unpublished, courtesy K.R. Veenhof).

[76] Add *na-ḫa-am-ma ul ta-nu-uḫ*, Erra Epic IV 112 (SB).

These infinitives seem to function just as the well-known *infinitivi absoluti* in *parāsum(ma) iparras*.

It is possible that the accusative *plural* forms of the infinitive in paronomastic infinitive constructions were reserved mainly for those infinitives which were followed by a possessive pronominal suffix (see above, p. 100). W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 31, 1969, 38, on line 45, gives another morphological analysis of these endings: not an accusative plural, but "defective writings for *-iššaš*, etc.". This is ruled out by *a-pa-li-ja ú-ul te-le-e-i* "you cannot 'answer' me", *AbBr* 6 103:22-23 (ref. Prof. Kraus) and *AbBr* 3 37:13; see Frankena, *BiOr* 22, 1965, 174*b*, on Aro, *Die akkad. Infinitivkonstruktionen* §3.130. Von Soden's reconstruction of *AbBr* 5 257:21-22: PN_1 *ù* PN_2 *ma-ḫa-ri* [*la i*]*-ma-aḫ-ḫa-ru* "PN_1 and PN_2 may not receive!" (*BiOr* 30, 1973, 60*b*), shows that these infinitive forms are not necessarily followed by pronominal suffixes.

Returning now to *eṣēdam iṣṣid* in the contracts from the Diyala region: it is for the time being impossible to say which interpretation is right, either "he will harvest at harvest time", or "he will (certainly) harvest".

The Sumerian counterpart of this formula could be tukumbi nu.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD 1 2/3 gín kù.babbar ì.lá.e, Langdon, *PSBA* 33 (1911) Plate XLV no. XXV (= *HG* 6 1542; see Landsberger, *MSL* 1 239-240).

7. "*Should he not go*"

There remain two problems in the early labor contracts, dated in the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna.

Two texts, probably belonging to the same archive (that of Ur-Kalkal; also *VAS* 9 148, 201, cp. 158), offer the formula *n* lú.še.gur$_{10}$.KUD.(meš) *illak ul illiku(ma) ṣimdat* lugal (*VAS* 8 111 = *VAB* 5 no. 166, see Lautner, p. 146-7; and Goetze, *JCS* 11, 1957, 28-9 no. 17 CUA 66). In these texts, one contractor borrows an amount of money[77] for harvesting, so the form *illak* creates no difficulties. The "plural" form *ul illiku*, however, is surprising. One could try to explain this by assuming that now the harvesters are the subjects; this would not be completely unexpected in these early texts, when a rigid wording of the clauses had not yet been established. In Friedrich, *BA* 5/4, 1906, 496 no. 19 (= *VAB* 5 no. 159), however, one man is hired *ana ḫarrān šarrim* by one other man and our clause runs thus: *illak ul illiku ṣimdat šarrim* (lines 10-11). This strange form *illiku* in

[77] These texts and *BIN* 7 185 presuppose the ratio of 1/21 shekel for one harvester. The implications and consequences of this ratio can be studied only in the light of new evidence, like *YOS* 12 283 (unpublished, quoted *CAD* E 349*b*, 1'), cp. *YOS* 13 334, 357.

VAB 5 no. 159 suggests that *illiku* could be analyzed as *illik-u*, where *-u* is the subjunctive ending. The only parallel in a conditional clause I can adduce is: *šumma erṣet* TUR.meš-*ia-mi-na bēlī ú-wa-aš-ša-ru*, "If my lord sets free the territory of the Benjaminites" (*ARMT* XIII no. 39 rev. 7', 22'). Birot, *ARMT* XIII p. 164, considers this subjunctive apparently as a "subjonctif d'insistance ou d'emphase" (Finet, *ALM* p. 262-3 §91 *f-h*): "il doit exprimer ici une nuance d'insistance qui souligne le caractère improbable — et déplorable — d'une éventualité envisagée à contre-cœur" [78].

I am recluctant to accept the "rare and unexplained" subjunctive of emphasis here. This prompted me to search for a reasonable alternative: conditional clauses not introduced by a conjunction have always *-ma* between protasis and apodosis (*GAG* §160). Si 267:10 (= *VAB* 5 no. 159) runs according to Scheil, *Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, 1902. p. 129 *i-la-ak ú-ul il-li-ma* (?) (Friedrich: *il-li-ku*). Can we emendate the last word into *il-li-<ik>-ma*? Of the two harvest labor contracts mentioned above, *VAS* 8 111:9 has *ul illiku-ma*, but CUA 66 rev. 1 has *illiku* without *-ma*; should we emend *il-li-ku-<ma>* in the light of *VAS* 8 111:9?

A sufficient number of texts dated to the reigns of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna will make clear whether or not the problematic *illiku* of both texts remain isolated instances.

The second problem of *ul illiku(ma)* is much less thorny: the use of the Preterit instead of the Present form (most contracts have *illak(ū)*). Conditional clauses not introduced by a conjunction have mostly the Present in the protasis (von Soden, *GAG* §160*b*, Finet, *ALM* p. 230-231 §83 *g-h*). There are, however, sufficient examples to make clear that the Preterit could be used as well. Von Soden, *GAG* §173*g*, quotes *VAS* 16 73:14; add *šeam ul ublamma*, *TIM* 3 154:4-5 (cp. *PN ubbalamma*, *ARN* 101 rev. 6); *ul apulkāmā*, Simmons, *JCS* 14 1960, 50 no. 69a:12, *wardam ... uḫalliqma*, *YOS* 8 170:2; *awēlam šuati ul tušāriam*, *VAS* 16 13:10-11; *ul iddinūma*, *VAS* 8 86:13; *ul ublamma*, A. 11839:9 (unp.; Ibal-pi-El 8); *ana Larsa ula illikam PN ula īpulma*, unp. tablet in the possession of Mr Arthur L. Funck, after a copy by S.I. Feigin; Rim-Sin 22; *šipram ul īpušma*, *VAS* 8 62:10 (no date); *ul ušzizma*, *TIM* 5 62:9 (Ibal-pi-El). Professor Kraus refers me to Ungnad, *VAB* 6 no. 1:12 (*ul taddinma*), *AbBr* 4 no. 145:34 (*ula taḫmuṭāma*), Goetze, *Sumer* 14, 1958, p. 54 no. 28:22 (*ul tušārîšunūtīma*), p. 57 no. 31:11 (*ul tallikamma*); see also Kraus, *Edikt* p. 140 fn. 1.

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[78] Another interpretation was suggested by W.L. Moran in *The Bible and the Ancient East. Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G.E. Wright), 1961, 65f. (= Anchor A 431, 1965, 75f.) (ref. Prof. Römer).

CT 4 6a (*VAB* 5 no. 315) and *CT* 6 34b (*VAB* 5 no. 316) deal with the same legal case; the first text has *ul ubirrakkuššuma* in line 18, the second text renders the same statement by *šumma la ubirrakkum* (line 20). This gives us the best formal proof for the interpretation of *ul illiku* as a conditional clause.

It is not necessary to stress any difference in meaning between Present and Preterit in these conditional clauses. Both represent more or less a *potentialis*, cp. English "Should he go home" next to "Does he go home". If there is any difference, then it is a difference in chronological distribution : the Preterit seems to occur only in texts up to the time of Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna [79]. Note that constructions with the Present do also occur during that earlier period, in clausulas like *innabbit udappar ipparakkûma* "should he flee, go away, or cease work", *YOS* 8 13:8-10, *YOS* 5 140:11, *VAS* 13 73:11, etc.; or *nakrum ileqqešuma nēšum idākšuma* "should the enemy seize him or a lion kill him" (and variants), *YOS* 8 44:13-14 (45:10-11); [*ekallam*] *isaḫḫurma* (var. *išê*) "should he apply to the palace", *YOS* 8 46:11, etc.

In the Mari texts, the Present form is exclusively used (Finet, *ALM* p. 230-31 §83*g*).

[79] For another possible interpretation of the Preterit in this position, see von Soden, *GAG* §158*b* (Futurum exactum).

INDEXES

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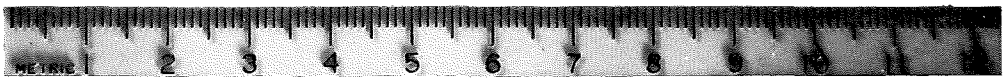

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